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v. 5, pt. 2

VOL. V.

1534—1554.

EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

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1550.

December ?
MS. St. Mark'sLibrary,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.No date of time
or place.689. CARDINAL POLE to the PRIOR of the MONASTERY of ST.
PAUL, in ROME.

Not having had any intelligence from the Rev. President, concerning what took place at the Chapter, nor any reply to certain letters written by him, most especially to what he wrote in recommendation of Messer Sebastiano he expected, as mentioned by him to the Prior, that some of the abbots of the Order on their way through Rome would be charged to supply the omission by word of mouth. But the Rev. Abbot of Subiaco (*Subito*) [*sic*] whom he supposes to be the last, having now passed without letters or any other commission, he has chosen to acquaint the Prior with this, that he may write about it to the Rev. Father President, giving him to understand that should the affairs of the Chapter have had a good result, it would have pleased him to have been acquainted with the fact by the President, to congratulate him on it, as was his wont in former years, and also that he might be enabled to answer Messer Sebastian, who, as the Prior knows, remains suspended, until through Pole's medium it be ascertained what has been done in his case. With regard to the Father Abbot of St. Paul, he by several letters has requested Pole to consent to his return to Rome. In reply, announced his wish for all the monks of the congregation to know that as for himself individually, he shall always be content with any determination they may make, though on the other hand, for the benefit of the congregation, he cannot but lament whenever he sees anything take place of a contrary nature. Certainly thought it desirable both for Father Don Prospero and for the congregation that some honourable and fitting post should be assigned him, as he always complained of the climate of Rome; and it was also seen by experience that he was less suited to the management of St. Paul's Monastery than he would have been to that of any other place; this being the opinion of Pole, who also believes that the "*Padri diffinitori*" have received similar information through several channels.

Is therefore the more surprised at their not having communicated to him their reasons for making this decree, as there may be some sufficient cause, with which he is as yet unacquainted, though, be this as it may, Pole will always be glad to see him, should he return to Rome, and in the meanwhile is sorry to find St. Paul's Monastery without its Abbot, Prior, and Cell-keeper (*Cellerario*).

Father Don Matteo of Brescia wrote to the Cardinal of Urbino from Braia, requesting him to obtain Pole's consent to the return of Don Prospero to Rome. Is surprised at this on two accounts. In the first place, to himself individually, it does not matter in the least whether one monk or another come to Rome; and secondly, because it does not seem fitting to him to employ any other medium than their own, for intercourse between the Prior of St. Paul's and himself; and the letter of Don Marco [Mattheo?] was written at such a time, that had Pole chosen to answer it, his reply would not have arrived until after the dissolution of the Chapter. In short, assures the Prior, that whatever is for the benefit of the congregation will always be most to his satisfaction, as may he thinks be already

1550.

clearly known to all the monks by facts; and amongst other advice given by him to the monks—always to that end—was the following, that they should have especial care, both at Monte Cassino, and in Rome, to appoint not only good honest men, but experienced persons, suited to negotiations in these parts. *Bene valete.*

[Rome, December? 1550.]

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6.
Original
Letter-book,
Venetian
Archives.

690. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Julius III., to the SIGNORY.

Ascanio Colonna is harassed (*travagliato*) by the Pope on account of his son Fabritio, who makes many demands of his said father Ascanio, under favour of Don Diego, who, on this account likewise, does not quit Rome. The Pope sent several times for Signor Ascanio from his estates, and at length, when he came, required him to give Fabritio at least 12,000 crowns annual revenue in landed property, that he may convey thither his wife, the daughter of Ferrante Gonzaga, and secure the dower to him (*et assicurargli la dote*), and also pay his debts, which amount to 25,000 crowns. Signor Ascanio seems content to make over the estate to him, and to give security for the dower, but not to pay his debts, as they were contracted by gambling and other dishonourable proceedings. The Pope has appointed the Cardinal of England [Reginald Pole], Camillo Ursino, and Don Diego, to mediate an adjustment between them; and a great personage, a Frenchman, complained to me of the Pope's wishing to enforce the cession of territory to Signor Fabritio, who will be here fortified at the gates of Rome, in the name of the Emperor and as his vassal. He told me he had complained of this to the Pope, and that from France and other places he was informed that the Emperor purposes making himself master of the whole of Tuscany, and that the former confidence and good understanding between these Imperialists and the Duke of Florence no longer exists; and that his Most Christian Majesty has appointed 24 captains, and chooses to be prepared should the Emperor die, as they understand he is ill; nor does this French personage believe that King Maximilian intends by any means to cede the [Imperial] dignity which belongs to him.

Rome, 6th December 1550.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

691. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Crescentio tells me that [in congregation?] they were silent about Barbaro's embassy in England, a place deservedly odious; so for the love of God let him come away immediately, as it would be too great an ignominy for this Holy See, were a person elected to such a Patriarchate to remain there any longer.*

Rome, 18th December 1550.

[*Italian.*]

* The Republic wished to obtain for Daniel Barbaro, ambassador in England, the Patriarchate of Aquileia, through the resignation of Giovanni Querini, whose nephews opposed the measure; and they or their adherents accused Barbaro of Protestantism.

1550.

Dec. 27.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxvii. p. 83.

692. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

Received his letters of the 18th, 19th, and 20th, and are acquainted with the very loving office performed by the Pope in consistory by proposing the renunciation of the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

In consequence of what he tells them about the good offices of the Cardinal Crescentio, and his authority and favour with the Pope, have thought fit to write to him, as by the enclosed copy. To present the letter, and to inform him that according to his suggestion, they are writing to their ambassador in England [Daniele Barbaro], to take leave of the King, and return to their presence forthwith.

To give thanks in like manner to such other Cardinals as he may think advisable.*

Ayes, 195. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1551.

1551.

Jan. 3.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 18.

693. DOGE FRANCESCO DONADO to KING EDWARD VI.

As Daniel Barbaro, his ambassador in England, is compelled to return to Venice, has written to him that, after taking leave of the King and performing the customary offices of an ambassador at the close of his legation, he is to proceed to Venice. Has ordered Giacomo Soranzo, the ambassador appointed in his stead, to prepare for the journey to England forthwith.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 17.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of year
or place.

694. CARDINAL POLE to the LORD ASCANIO COLONNA.

Most illustrious Lord,

By your Lordship's letters I am informed of your wish that the 9,000 crowns, which I had always intended giving to the Signora Donna Vittoria your daughter on her marriage, may be now consigned to the Viceroy of Naples [Don Pietro di Toledo], on account of the dower promised to his son Don Garzia, you having stipulated and promised thus to do; and although before you made that promise I should have liked to have had it intimated to me, as I think you ought to have done, knowing that this my intention proceeded from my mere good will, I have nevertheless taken everything in good part (*in ogni—sic—parte*), and still remain as firm in this intention as I have always done. Although as you are aware the Lady Marchioness [Vittoria Colonna] your sister, was induced to leave these moneys in my hands that I might succour the poor people of my country, who constantly apply to me, as the said Lady announced to credible witnesses, I determined to dispose

* At the close of the year 1550, the Senate induced the Patriarch of Aquileia to take as his coadjutor Daniele Barbaro, then ambassador from the Republic at the Court of Edward VI. (See Andrea Morosini, v. ii. p. 197.)

1551.

of the sum to assist your Lordship, with these moneys, to marry the Lady Doña Vittoria, at the time when you were banished; nor, although you were subsequently restored to your territories, did I ever change my purpose, which I am ready to execute, whenever the said Lady and the Signor Don Garzia di Toledo shall contract marriage, at which period I will not fail to remit these moneys into the hands of your Lordship, or of the Lord Don Garzia, or of such person as you shall be pleased to order; you giving me due security that, in the event of the demise of the Lady Vittoria without children, the said 9,000 ducats be repaid, and applied to such pious purpose here in Rome as I shall ordain.

[Civitella?] 17th January [1551.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25.

695. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xix. p. 198,
tergo.

That to Zuan Francesco di Franceschi, who is going as secretary to England with the Signory's ambassador Ser Jacomo Soranzo, there be given two years' salary at the rate of 16 ducats per annum—32 ducats—he not to receive any further salary until the whole be accounted for.

Ayes, 12. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26.

696. MATTEO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

This morning, early, I went to his Holiness, who received me almost immediately, with a joyful countenance, saying, "Ambassador! last night I had a more sudden attack than ever from this traitress gout (*da questa traditora gotta*)."^{*} I condoled with him in your Serenity's name, and at the close of the audience, after kissing his foot, I asked him if he had determined on a successor for the bishopric of Brescia, and whether I was to write anything about it to your Serenity. He answered me, "We will tell you the truth; we believe that the four persons who have been nominated are all worthy men, but we think of turning our mind (*ma ne par di attaccarsi*) towards the one we know, who is this our Messer Alvise* de Prioli; it is true that I do not yet know what we shall do; whether he will accept it, for we would not wish to have him proposed and that he should then refuse it; for he lives in solitude, studying philosophy and theology. We know him to have every good quality that can possibly be desired, but even if he possessed no other than that of having resided so long a while with so holy a Cardinal" (alluding to the Cardinal of England) [Reginald Pole], "it would fully suffice us for giving him this charge, and even a greater one."

Rome, 26th February 1551.

[*Italian.*]

* Alvise or Luigi de Priuli, the bosom friend of Cardinal Pole, whose eyes he closed at Lambeth Palace. Pope Julius III. styles Priuli "*ours*" because he resided at the Papal Court with Cardinal Pole, and was probably with him at Civitella when this letter was written.

1551.

Feb. 28.

Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.,
v. xix. p. 199.**697. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.**

That at the earnest request of the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, he be shown the armoury halls of this Council, and the jewels of St. Mark's Sanctuary.

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.

Senato Terra,
v. xxxvii. p. 100,
tergo.**698. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

As it is necessary to dispatch our noble Giacomo Soranzo, ambassador elect to the most Serene King of England, and give him the means for preparing to go on his legation :

Put to the ballot, that of the moneys appointed for the ambassadors there be given to our aforesaid noble, 600 golden ducats on account of his expenses for four months ; and 150 ducats, at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, for the purchase of horses ; and 30 ducats for coverings and trunks ; and as a donation for his secretary, 50 ducats ; and for two couriers 40 ducats, at the rate of 20 ducats for each ; he being allowed to take with him, at the Signory's risk, silver utensils to the value of 400 ducats, to be estimated by the office for the new accounts according to the Signory's orders.

Ayes, 127. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

Read to the whole College on the 17th February.

[*Italian.*]

March 13.

Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.,
v. xx. p. 1,
tergo.**699. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.**

That of the moneys appointed for the ambassadors, there be given to the nobleman Ser Jacomo Soranzo, ambassador elect to the most Serene King of England, 600 golden ducats on account of his expenses for four months ; and 150 ducats at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat, to purchase horses ; and 30 ducats for coverings and trunks ; and 50 ducats as a donation for his secretary ; and 40 ducats for two couriers, at the rate of 20 ducats each ; as carried in the Senate and College ; and be given 200 ducats for couriers, and the dispatch of letters, and to spend, if requisite, in boats, escorts, guides, and safe-conducts, with the obligation to render especial account of them.

Moreover be the treasurer of this Council and his successors enjoined—out of the limitation fund set apart for ambassadors,—to give said ambassador's agents, on the expiration of the three months after his departure hence, at the commencement of the fourth month, the salary appointed him for one month, namely 150 golden ducats, so that he may always have the money for one month in advance, and thus successively from month to month.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 28.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxvii. p. 101.**700. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Motion made in the Senate for the commission to be given to Giacomo Soranzo, ambassador to the King of England instead of their most beloved Noble Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., elected Patriarch of Aquileia.

1553.

routed the forces of the Bishops there, taking the city and the castle, and was going towards Nuremberg.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.

752. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
Printed in v. iv.
pp. 107, 108,
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli."

The Cardinal of Trent, accompanied by the Ambassador despatched to the Pope by the Marquis of Brandenburg, has been with Pole on the Lake of Garda, requesting him to beseech his Holiness's favour for the concession of the See of Magdeburg to the late Bishop's brother. Pole at first refused, but as they insisted, saying they knew how much credit he had with the Pope, showing him also letters of recommendation obtained for this purpose from the Emperor, from the Archbishops of Metz and Treves, and from the Cardinal of Augsburg, they induced him to give the accompanying letter. Praises the candidate, and thinks his election at the present moment would be beneficial, there being a great scarcity, especially in those parts, of Bishops who can and will defend the interests of the Church.

From the monastery of Maguzzano, 8th June 1553.

[*Latin, 41 lines.*]

June 12.

753. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Senato Mar,
v. xxxii. p. 84.

Motion made in the Senate.

Their noble Giacomo Soranzo, knight, has now resided for two years with the King of England, and by his letters earnestly requests the election of his successor, that the Ambassador elect may go to his destination. The grant of this just demand being due to the diligent and honourable service rendered by Soranzo—

Put to the ballot, that another nobleman be elected as successor of the aforesaid Ser Giacomo, and with the same terms as stipulated by his appointment; to be eligible from any place and office, and prohibited to refuse under all the penalties contained in the Act of 1536; and that four months' salary be given him in advance; his agents at Venice to receive as usual from the cashier of the Council of Ten, 150 golden ducats monthly, so that the Signory may thus not incur any loss by the rate of exchange; and the Ambassador-elect to depart within the period assigned by the last Act passed in the Senate and the Grand Council with regard to the election of Ambassadors, and with such commission as shall seem fit to this Council.

Ayes, 179. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

1552, X Novembris, lecta Collegio.

1553, die 9 Junij, lecta Collegio.

1553, die 22 Junij, electus Ser. Federicus
Baduario Ser Aloysij.

[*Italian.*]

1551.

April 4.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxvii. p. 104,
tergo.

**702. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at
CONSTANTINOPLE.**

By letters from France, dated 9th March, the King was at Blois, where an ambassador had arrived from the King of England on account, it was said, of difficulties relating to Scotland.

Ayes, 144. Noes, 37. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian.*]

- May.

MS. in the
Venetian
Archives.

703. REPORT by the most noble Messer DANIEL BARBARO
(afterwards Patriarch elect of Aquileia) of his Legation in
ENGLAND, delivered in the Senate in the month of May
1551 [on parchment].*

Considers as a very sure proof of the wisdom of the Venetian Republic, their rejection of whatever redounds more to the benefit of the Sovereign than of the people, or of what does not maintain equality, and that whatever is found to be good in the polity of other commonwealths should be all condensed, enjoined, and observed, in that of Venice; and amongst the other means adopted to obtain this result, he is of opinion that one of the most praiseworthy is the law whereby the Signory's envoys on their return from foreign missions are bound to give account to the Senate of what they find worthy of notice in the domestic and foreign policy of the powers to whom they have been accredited.

In obedience to this law, will acquaint the Senate, as briefly as he can, with what he could learn of the government of England during his eighteen months' residence there, bearing chiefly in mind the three points of religion, law, and soldiery.

Succession to
the Crown of
England.

The country is at present subject to the King of England by right, as the eldest hereditary male heir to the crown. In default of the male line it passes to the female line; but as the sovereignty is undivided, the eldest daughter becomes sole heir; or to the next of kin, should there be no daughters.

Besides the succession and heirship, the consent of the Lords and Commons is requisite, so that, before the King's coronation, the people are solemnly asked thrice whether they approve of the King-elect; and the election being confirmed unanimously, the confirmed King takes oath to observe the laws; and is thus crowned, consecrated, anointed, and hailed King. It is indeed true that, after the confirmation, the King may have to quell insurrection on the part of the nobility, should they consider themselves in any way wronged, as they are many in number, and consider themselves no less noble than their Sovereign; but ordinarily the people love their King, and put up with anything to retain him (*per conservarlo*), especially when he keeps the promises made them.

* The delivery of this "Report" to the College is alluded to at p. 98 of the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, thus:

1551, April 30.
Venice.

"This day, Signor Daniel Barbaro has had his first audience of the Seignior, and is understood to have reported very honourably of the King's Majesty and their Lordships." The Venetians made their reports first to the College, and then to the Senate. The report to the Senate was probably made on the 1st or 2nd of May 1551.

1551.

BARBARO'S
REPORT ON
ENGLAND
(May.)Henry VIII's
will.

If the King comes to the crown at mature age, the government is conducted by his Majesty in person and by the Lords and Commons who sit in Parliament. If a minor, as at present, they give him governors or protectors, though at present this title of Protector has become generally odious, the uncle of the present King having been deprived of it, for the reasons written in the reporter's letter to the Senate, dated 6th October 1549; in addition to which, it was the intention of the present King's father to leave the care of his son not to one individual, but to several persons with equal authority, although this was not practised, owing to the neglect of many or to the extreme *diligenza et curiosità* of one alone, who, in his (Barbaro's) time, ruled everything, whence arose endless confusion.

The late King had considered the great danger which threatened the kingdom in case the nobility maintained the power it then possessed; and also that it was not safe to give his son, who at the time of his death was ten years old, in ward to a kinsman; so first of all, by strange modes, he chose to depress the nobility, leaving them their titles and depriving them of all jurisdiction, so that there is neither duke nor lord in the whole realm who can by law put any one to death, nor who derives his entire revenue from the places of which he is lord.

To secure his son and the crown, the late King also gave equal authority to sixteen [regents?], not making any of them chief, that they might rule the ward and the realm; which was in truth well judged, had not all his orders, by some misfortune unknown to the reporter, been altered after his death, so that his last will and testament was published in another form than the true one, and everything is going daily from bad to worse, nor does aught remain, save the reputation of the present King, who is of a good disposition, and the whole realm hopes the best from him, as he is handsome, affable, of becoming stature, seems to be liberal, commences interesting himself about public business, and in bodily exercises, literary studies, and knowledge of languages, appears to surpass his comrades and competitors as also his own years, in number 14.

Character of
Edward VI.

Coming now to the three things which constitute the foundation of commonwealths, will treat first of the administration of justice.

Laws.

The laws of England, called "common," are observed in part according to ancient usage, partly taken from civil law, and partly enacted by the parliaments.* In like manner as these laws are various and diverse, so are the awards various and diverse, and they are administered in certain places called "courts," and at certain times of the year, and juridical days (*giorni giuridici*), called "terms."

The King's
Bench.

The first and principal court is called the King's Bench, where four judges-jurists (*giudici jurisperiti*) sit "*pro tribunali*," the first of whom is called the Chief Justice (*il giudice capitale*) of all England. These judges constitute the court of judicature for criminal cases, such as lese-Majesty, homicide, violation of women,

* Le leggi d'Inghilterra, che comuni si chiamano, sono parte osservate per antica usanza, parte prese dalla ragione civile, parte statuite nelli parlamenti.

1551.

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REPORT ON
ENGLAND
(May.)

theft, arson, and in short, any transgression perpetrated by force, as anything done against the Majesty of the Crown is considered an act of violence. The formulas of actions, therefore, and such processes as appertain to that Bench, are called the placets of the Crown.

Mode of trial
by jury.

The mode of judging, is as follows: whenever any of the aforesaid misdemeanors occur, 12 men of the province where it took place are summoned in the King's name to make inquiry about the crimes committed there; and to them all prosecutors have recourse, and after being sworn to tell the truth make their complaint in form of a charge (*in forma di un libello*) called "indictment," containing a list of the witnesses, evidence and proofs. After mature consideration of the charge (*libello*), if the 12 consider it inadmissible, they tear it up immediately; but if admitted, they send it to the judge inscribed thus, "true bill," that is to say, veracious charge (*"billia vera," cioè libello verace*). The judge then endeavours to arrest the culprit, to whom the charge is read on his appearing in court, the witnesses and other proofs being produced; after which evidence the prisoner defends his cause without counsel (*avvocati*), because in capital causes the English do not admit counsel (*avvocati*). If the culprit denies the fact, 12 others are then summoned, he being at liberty to reject them, but if accepted, they are sworn to speak the truth; and after drawing aside and discussing the process, if they acquit the prisoner (*il reo*) of the charge he is immediately released, but if pronounced guilty, they send him back to the judge, who enquires whether he has anything else to say in his defence, which may be the case, should he have been already acquitted of the charge, or should he have the royal pardon and can show it in writing, or that he be in Holy Orders; but if he has no other defence, they then pass sentence according to the criminal code; so that if convicted of high treason, he is hanged, and after dismembering and disembowelling him, the parts being committed to the flames, they finally cut off the head, the body being quartered; women being burnt for this crime. Other malefactors make atonement on the gibbet.

Torture.

This mode of judicature appears to the English perfectly just and safe, as they affirm that torture is a violent and compulsory method, which often induces a man to confess what he has never committed, nor ever thought of doing; and injures both the body and life of an innocent person; and they are also of opinion that it is more just to release a guilty person than to condemn one who is innocent. This is the Criminal Code.

The Common
Pleas.

There is another Court, called "of the Common Pleas," in which four justices sit, being installed with great ceremony; and the principal one is styled Justice of the Bench. This Court decides civil disputes, not such as regard the Crown, but those relating to the Lords and Commons, as for instance, tenements, land, debts, damages, and other private injuries.

Serjeants-at-
law and barristers.

The suits of this Court are pleaded by certain barristers-elect (*certi avvocati eletti*), called serjeants-at-law (*servitori della legge*). They have no grade of LL.D., like those who study civil law in the universities, but have the grade of serjeants-at-law (*servitori della*

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(May.)

legge), which is the special grade of those who have studied the common law (*leggi proprie*) of England, nor in other countries is it customary to confer an especial degree for the laws of that kingdom. The barristers (*avvocati*) are made with great ceremonies, which it would be long to narrate; and what with banquets and presents they each spend some 1,600 crowns on receiving their degree, though on the other hand it is true that in no other place do barristers (*avvocati*) gain more than they do in England, both because they are few in number there, and also because none others can be employed. Moreover, very great respect is paid them, in proof of which they do not doff their white coifs even in the King's presence; and from these barristers the justices are generally chosen. When the case is pleaded, which the English denominate "issue of the action" (*essito nell' attione*), should the dispute be *de jure*, the matter is decided by the justices (*giustitieri*); if *de facto*, they summon 12 men from the site where the dispute arose, and after putting them upon oath, civil disputes between the nobility and the people (*i grandi e la plebe*) are decided according to their verdict.

The Exchequer. The King of England, besides the privy purse and treasurers of the household, has also the public fisco (*il fisco publico*), called Exchequer, which the reporter believes to be a corruption from the Latin word "*statarius*," as the entire grandeur of the realm is based on money. In this Court four judges sit, with the title of Barons of the Exchequer, the chief of whom is eminently learned in the law (*giurisperito*). There also sit constantly the chamberlains (*camarlinghi*), the auditors (*i ragionati*), the tellers (*i collettori dell' entrate*), the clerks of the pells (*i notari*), the scriveners? (*scrivani*), who transact the affairs of the Exchequer (*che procurano le cose del fisco*), in which no slight disputes arise between Sovereign and subject, so that a person once involved with the Exchequer, can with great difficulty and loss of time succeed, and only after having in the first place well emptied his purse, according to the proverb, "Quod non capit Christus, capit fiscus." Judgment is given throughout according to the common law (*legge comunale*), and the terms are kept according to the four seasons of the year, as in the other courts. The revenues of the Exchequer are reserved, not so much for the civil list of the Sovereign, as for the public profit, because they are crown property; but of these and other revenues more will be said hereafter.

The regal
power.

The King of England exercises two powers (*due potestà*); the one, royal and absolute, the other, ordinary and legal. With regard to the first, in cases where the laws of England are either too severe, or require a certain equity, the Lord Chancellor represents the person of the King, with regard to distinguishing the cases, and his decisions are as valid as if they issued from the King's own mouth.

The Court of
Chancery.

The Lord Chancellor has a court of his own, called the Court of Chancery, or the Court of Conscience (*il foro di coscienza*), where sentence is passed, not entirely *de jure*, but according to a sort of equity, and the proofs of the cases are not referred to the twelve, but to the Chancellor himself, who, after examining the witnesses,

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REPORT ON
ENGLAND
(May.)

The Star
Chamber.

secundum allegata et probata, gives his judgment. Under the Lord Chancellor is the Vice-Chancellor, called "Master of the Rolls," and his assessors.

Proclamations.

Certain cases of extraordinary importance are moreover referred to a place called the Star Chamber, where the King appears in person. In this chamber there are always in attendance certain jurists called Referendaries, or Masters of Requests, who receive the petitions and complaints of the oppressed poor, which are presented to the King, and heard and determined in a place, called the Whitehall. Matters of importance, however, relating to the Sovereign or the people, are referred to the King's Privy Council, consisting, as decreed by the late King Henry, of sixteen great personages; and whatever they decide there is published by edicts and proclamations, which have the vigour and force of laws, provided they do not extend to capital punishment, or to the disinheritance of any one; or that they be not in effect repugnant to the ancient statutes. Those who disregard these proclamations are imprisoned, but not for life, and the decrees remain in force at the King's pleasure, and during his reign; and this is what relates to the King's royal and absolute power.

Summonses to
Parliament.

With regard to that which is ordinary and legitimate, it is subject to the municipal civil laws of England, enacted by all the estates of the realm, which assembled together form the Parliament, as follows. When the King has determined to make new laws and to repeal the old ones, or to lay on some tax, or in short to regulate the whole State, he by certain writs (*brevi*) addressed to the lords and bishops of the realm, desires them to be ready in a certain place on a certain day, to treat matters concerning the common weal. He also desires the lords lieutenants of the counties to elect two plebeians, styled by them burgesses, from every city and castle to come to the Parliament in lieu of the people. And as it was dangerous to convoke the entire population at large, as their contradictory opinions might give rise to tumult and sedition, the number is thus limited, and amounts to about 300, so that all may pass off quietly. In the next place, each county elects two men of the equestrian order, who are called knights of Parliament (*soldati del parlamento*), and answer for all the inhabitants, both patricians and plebeians; so that the entire number consists of two parts or classes, one of the lords and bishops, the other of the burgesses.

Elections.

Mode of holding
Parliament.

When they are assembled in the place appointed for this purpose, which is very vast and extremely handsome, after celebration of the mass (*dopo celebrato il sacrificio*—sic) the King makes the Lord Chancellor state the causes which have rendered it necessary to assemble the Parliament. In the next place, the King desires the inferior order, that of the burgesses, to elect as usual an able and eloquent member to announce their suits (*cause*) and grievances (*gravami*). This mover (*costui che propone*) is styled Speaker of the Parliament, because as president of that order he prescribes the mode and place for speaking (*il modo ed il luogo del parlare*). These orders being separated one from the other, they commence regulating matters, as aforesaid; and first of all they inscribe in a book whatever has to be treated, after which they read the book three times in three days,

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one day always intervening between each reading, for the purpose of giving time to the House in question to consult. The book having been read, any member who pleases is at liberty to speak, but in turn, one after the other, nor is it allowable to interrupt any one speaking. The arguments on both sides having been heard they proceed to vote, and all those who assent to a motion exclaim "Aye, aye," those who reject it exclaiming "No, no." If the number of one side is doubtful the Speaker counts it one by one, and thus the majority conquers the minority, and the deliberation being noted in a bill (*libro*), is sent by three or four members selected from that House (*ordine*) to the Upper House, wherein the whole affair is discussed in like manner. If the bill (*libro*) is disapproved they immediately tear it, if approved, it is kept until the last day of Parliament; when in presence of the King all bills of the sort (*tutti quei libri*) are read; and if the King assents to them they all become so many lasting and immutable laws; but if any of the bills do not please the King, they then say that the King will consider, and the matter is referred to another time. And this is altogether the routine of the Parliament.

Convocation.

The English have also another assembly, styled "Convocation," in which bishops and ecclesiastics alone sit; they treat nothing but religious matters, and their decisions are styled "provincial constitutions" (*costituzione provinciale*), the motions being made, and the business being transacted in the same form as that of Parliament; and the mover of the motions is styled Prolocutor of the Convocation.

These parliaments, when held juridically, are calculated to allay all tumult and sedition; they are useful and secure, as measures adopted by popular opinion and consent, because they render the royal and absolute power, legitimate and ordinary, all members of parliament having full liberty.

The Privy
Council.

The office of the Councillors is to mediate between the people and the Sovereign, reminding him that he should keep the promises made on his election; but at present there are many abuses (*disordini*) in this system, first, because many things which ought to be referred to Parliament are decided in the King's Privy Council, as was the treaty of peace lately contracted with the French, and especially the restitution of Boulogne, which the country felt bitterly; and also because the petitions and complaints of the people being manifold, Parliament, though always promised them, is put off from time to time by a thousand excuses, because the government (*i signori*) have no wish to keep their promises; and even if they do assemble Parliament, they commence with the despatch of such business as turns to their own profit and advantage, and that being accomplished, they adjourn the two houses, and thus cajole the kingdom.

Popular
complaints.

Such is the general legislature of England, nor is it necessary to give especial account of the officials who inspect the country, as it would be tedious, and also because, except in name, there is no difference between the syndics of Italy and other regions, and those of England; but he will tell of a certain legislation practised in

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(May.)Municipal
government of
London.

The Companies.

Apprentices.

Election of
Lord Mayor.

London and some other towns with regard to municipal government, and the administration of justice to the populace.

In 1181, when Richard Cœur de Lion, with other princes, wished to make the crusade against the Infidels and provide funds for that purpose, the people in London supplied him with a considerable sum, on which account, many privileges were conceded to the Londoners, including that of the government of the city, which then commenced having the form of a republic, and constantly proceeding from good to better, became noble and wealthy. The whole population is divided into "companies," termed in Venice "schools" or fraternities (*scuole o fraggie*), of artificers; as, for instance, all the woolmen purchase from the King the privilege of forming companies amongst themselves, holding their meetings, forming their statutes (*mariegole*), regulating the price of cloths, preventing others from exercising the trade, and so forth, in order that everything may be conducted methodically; nor can any one enter these companies, until he has served those of the trade during six or seven years. These individuals are called "apprentices," signifying that their lot is equal, though compared to servants, as whilst learning the trade they serve the masters, who exercise jurisdiction over them as if they were slaves, but when the years of servitude expire, they become *ipso jure* citizens of London, although some others obtain the denizenship sooner.

Women likewise take the same service, and from all parts of the kingdom a great multitude of people flock to London, and there acquire wealth, honours, and matrimonial alliances; and what has been said about woollen manufactures is applicable to all the other trades.

Then the whole city, including noblemen and new men, elect their senate, their "Podestà" or Lord Mayor, and two tribunes or Viscounts, called by them Sheriffs, all of whom are for the purpose of administering justice (*dar ragione*) to the people.*

The city is divided into 24 parts, called wards, each of which is ruled by its senior and most respectable (*più onorato*) member, styled "alderman," signifying "old man" or "senator." From these 24 the mayor is elected, long before he assumes the office, which is annual, nor may it be held during more than five consecutive years. On his entry, he takes oath before the Chief Baron of the Exchequer to observe the laws faithfully; he issues a public invitation, and with very great pomp and magnificence gives a feast, at which upwards of a thousand persons are seen sitting at table, at one and the same time, being waited on with marvellous silence and method (*ordine*). He robes in scarlet, his sword is carried before him, and he appears in public in great state. On completing the term of his magistracy, he is knighted, but loses the title of "Lord," though during her life his wife is styled "Lady," which signifies "gentlewoman" (*signora*), and she also dresses differently from the other [city?] women.

* Che si chiama Mer, cioè Maggiore; due Tribuni detti Visconti, et da loro schivi (*sic*); e tutti questi sono per dar ragione al popolo.

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The like offices are also held in the other cities, but not with so much dignity, save in the city of York, which is on a par with London.

The jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor embraces many things which it would be long to enumerate, but it does not extend beyond certain boundaries within the city. He punishes certain crimes, appoints the town watch, provides for an ample supply of victuals, and in short, rules the city.

This is the close of what relates to the administration of justice; and although he could narrate many other things about the magistrates both of the towns, villages, and boroughs, yet as he has written diffusely about them elsewhere,* and as it would be but little to the purpose to allude to them on this occasion, he will merely say that the greater part of the offices of the realm of England are the same as those instituted for the like purposes in other countries, the difference being merely that of names.

Education.

Will now discuss the matter of religion, premising it by a few words about the education (*disciplina*) of children in England, as a matter of importance, for legislation and justice.

On the death of their husbands, mothers, however old they may be, re-marry, and take the greater part of the property elsewhere, neglecting their children, and many of them, even those who are wealthy, desert the cities, and go and reside with their families in the villages, where they have no opportunity for instructing their children, still less for sending them, as they used to do, to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where there are many colleges, founded by deceased kings and noblemen, for the benefit of students, who, residing there not a little at their ease, devoted themselves to literature, and became learned and virtuous; but now, few quit their homes, and those few are plebeians. The property goes to the eldest sons, the juniors being as it were their servants, and if not utterly idle, they take service with the King or become soldiers; but they no longer acquire learning, although they get more pay, because at present the care taken heretofore in this important matter of education is at an end, as the reporter will moreover state in another place.

Religious
opinion.

Religion is as it were the heart of man on which life depends, an excellent principle, as seen in all republics and governments (especially in monarchies), whereby to regulate (*moderare*) men's minds, and make them acknowledge God as the giver of kingdoms (*stati*) and victories. This is not the case with the English, amongst whom there is nothing more fickle (*incostante*) than religious opinion, for today they do one thing and tomorrow another; and now those who have accepted the new creed (*la nuova legge*) as well as the others are dissatisfied, as shown by the insurrection of '49; and in fact, had they now a leader, although they have been grievously chastised, they would again rise. On the other hand the Londoners are more inclined to obedience, because they are nearer the Court. In short, the English err in

* The work here alluded to is not known to exist either in print or manuscript.

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Marriages of
Henry VIII.

their religion, and in their opinions about the faith, the ceremonies of the Church, and obedience to the Pope; and the origin of so many evils was Henry VIII., the father of the present King.

Henry had lived twenty years with Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand King of Spain, and aunt of the present Emperor, she having first been the wife of Henry's brother Arthur, who married her at the age of fourteen years, and died five months afterwards. By Catharine, Henry had a daughter named Mary, now thirty-six years old; and having no sons, made her heir to the crown; but discord and a suit at law (*lite*) about the marriage of Catharine and Henry having subsequently arisen, the King, after much strife, having renounced the Pope's authority, repudiated her, and thereupon immediately married Anna Boleyn, a lady (*una donna*) of the court, of whom he was enamoured. Of her was born Elizabeth, who is now living, and who is eighteen years old; wherefore Mary was compelled to renounce her hereditary rights, with which Elizabeth was invested; and the rage conceived by Henry against the Pope from having had his suit for divorce rejected, coupled with the evil persuasions of Lord Cromwell then in very great favour, had such an effect upon him, that he made Parliament declare him Supreme Head of the Church, after Christ, in the realms of England (*nelle terre Anglicane*), where the annats, tenths, and dispensations were all assigned to the King; and those who opposed these measures were beheaded. In the meanwhile the first repudiated wife died, and Anna Boleyn having been condemned for adultery was beheaded, and next day the King married his third wife, Jane Seymour, sister of the Protector. Of her, was born in 1537, Edward VI., who now lives and reigns; and she died 12 days after the delivery, so that then in '40, Henry took his fourth wife, Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves; she also was repudiated a few months afterwards, and is now living in England near London on a certain pension. In lieu of Anne, he took Catharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk by the brother's side; she likewise being beheaded in '42 on a charge of adultery. So he then came to the sixth (*onde alla sesta si venne*), by name Catharine Parr, a widow of not very high birth, who after Henry's death, having married again, died childless.

The title of
Supreme Head
of the Church.

In this confusion of wives, so many noblemen and great personages were beheaded, so much church plunder committed, and so many acts of disobedience perpetrated, that it may be said that all that ensued, and is still going on (which to say the truth is horrible and unheard of)—all, I say, is the penalty of that first sin.

Religious
observances.

This detestation of the Pope is now so confirmed that no one, either of the new or old religion, can bear to hear him mentioned; and indeed in the Litanies which they sing in Church they say in English, "From the deceit and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, Lord deliver us." However much the Council may be talked of, England will send no one to it, although the country ought to be represented there, as it was to the Council that Henry VIII. appeared with regard to the sentence against his divorce; and whenever they can suppose that anything is ordained by the Pontiff, they immediately abrogate it at the suggestion of Bucer,

Influence of
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who was in very great repute with them, but is now dead, as reported to him (Barbaro) on his journey by the Archbishop of Cologne, with whom he passed Palm-Sunday. The English however eat fish on Friday and Saturday, and in Lent, for the sake, they say, of enabling the fishermen and poor people to gain their livelihood; so that, in order not to act according to the Roman custom, they purpose changing the Friday and Saturday for two other days

Church revenues.

in the week. Of the Church revenues and property they have made sheer plunder and one enormous act of sacrilege. They have two Archbishops, one of Canterbury and the other of York. The former [Thomas Cranmer] is in great repute, as head of the new religion (*nuova legge*), and is styled Primate of the Church (*Primate della Chiesa*); there being 18 bishoprics under him; but York has only two; nor are there any other bishoprics. The Bishops have not much to spend, as their revenues have all been curtailed. Nothing more is said about the Abbacies, they being all suppressed and their revenues annexed (*incorporate*) to the Crown; some being given to and usurped by the nobility, who convert them into palaces; furnishing them with the church-ornaments [when there are any, and rendering them heirlooms in their families (*see Correr MS.*)].

The dissolved
Monasteries.

The parishes in like manner, which in the reign of Edward III. were upwards of 40,000, are now but 25,000; from which must be deducted certain prebendaries bestowed on meritorious persons, both natives and aliens, who are however not bound to do any duty, save that of fealty (*fedeltà*) to the King; and under this name, the nobility (*i signori*) have usurped many, incorporating them with their hereditary possessions. But nothing is so mischievous as the destruction of the Abbacies, which maintained a great part of the population, were a refuge for the poor, a convenience for travellers, and profitable for the Sovereign in time of war. And this is the summary of what he can tell about the disobedience of the English to the Pope, besides their demonstrations of contempt for him, in paintings, comedies, and in all their amusements.

The poor.

Church cere-
monies.

With regard to church ceremonies, it is true they have retained many of them; introducing many new ones, under pretence that the nature of the times requires this, as some had become idolatrous and superstitious, because the pastors had not at first opened their eyes to them.

The Prayer
Book.

Now in '48, a book was printed in English, compiled (*composto*) by the King's command, by many bishops and lettered men (*litterati*), and subsequently confirmed by Parliament; which book is entitled, "The Public Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and Ceremonies." It was then ordered that according to the precepts (*gli ordini*) of this book they were to observe the same form in the churches in England, Wales, and Calais. It mentions those places, because in Ireland, and the islands subject to England, where the English tongue is not understood, no obligation is imposed. In the colleges (*studi*) and universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, they allow them to read the prayers, in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, to encourage students; but the service of the Lord's

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supper is read nowhere but in English. They officiate in the churches in the evening and morning; so that all the psalms are read 12 times annually, and the Testament once, except certain chapters of the Apocalypse. On holydays (*nei di solenni*) they read a compendium of the Litanies without commemoration of saints.

They use bells and organs, but neither altars nor images, nor water, nor incense (*non acqua, non fuoco*), nor other Roman ceremonies. In all the churches on the walls, which are whitened for this purpose, below the royal arms, they inscribe certain Scriptural sayings.

Baptism.

Having detailed the mode of officiating in the churches, will proceed to the administration of the Sacraments. They choose baptism to be performed in the churches on Sundays and holydays, in the presence of the sponsors, to whom the minister says a few words, exhorting them to pray for the infant to be baptized, and to answer for it. They sign the child with the cross on the breast and head, plunge it (*l'attuffiano*) thrice in the water, and anoint it; but the oil is not consecrated either in this or any other Sacrament; and in case of need, they can baptize at home. They do not administer the communion before Confirmation, which is in like manner performed without the consecrated oil. The purification of women is performed 20 days after delivery in the churches, whither the women go to thank God.

The Communion.

On the day before the Communion, or on the day itself, the communicants are bound to present themselves to the priest before the morning service or immediately afterwards, and acquaint him with their intention, and should any one of them be known to have led an infamous and scandalous life, the priest warns him not to go to the Communion until after he has declared his repentance and determined to mend, making reparation for his offences and promising to do so. That is ordained in the book, but not observed, having been done for appearance sake. When they communicate the priests wear their surplices; they dismiss the non-communicants from the choir (*coro*), take as much bread and wine as may suffice, and if the wine in the chalice is not enough they mix it with spring water. The bread is coarser than what is used at Venice, and of circular form without images; and they make a general confession, which is preceded by a very long homily (*lungheissime parole*).

They choose one person in each family to communicate every Sunday; so certain merchants treat it as a joke, and are in the habit of sending one of their servants; and the parish priests do this to obtain alms.

Marriage.

They have also ordained the solemn form of marriage to be performed in church by the priest, the bride and bridegroom being present. They allow the priests to marry, and their primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has a wife; this being tolerated even in foreigners, such as Bernardino di Siena, who last year had a son.

Even extreme unction is administered with unconsecrated oil, and if the danger is imminent they tell the sick man that if he repents heartily and affirms that Christ died for him, he has then communicated in the spirit, although he do not take the Sacrament through the mouth.

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The two first offences against these regulations are punished at the option of the judge, but the third subjects the culprit to perpetual imprisonment. These and other similar things were done and ordained in the year '48; but then in '49, by royal authority, another book was published and confirmed in Parliament, containing the form of conferring holy orders; nor do they differ from those of the Roman Catholic religion, save that in England they take oath to renounce the doctrine and authority of the Pope.

Vestments.

They read certain other "lessons" (*lezioni*) from Scripture, by authority of the [ecclesiastical] ministry, and use sacerdotal garments; and therefore they lately condemned Bishop Hooper (*il vescovo Uper*), who would not consent either to the Sacraments or to the habits, saying that they are ceremonies of the Old Testament, and a Jewish and idolatrous observance.

Bishop Hooper.

Has nothing more to say about the ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and is at a loss to narrate the contradictory opinions entertained in England about the faith, both with regard to the most Holy Trinity and the Angels, as also about the creation of the world, the humanity of Christ, and the efficacy of the Sacraments; for as they have perpetrated many excesses, and consequently incurred the just excommunication and malediction of the Church, he believes that all the rest of the sins committed by them, through their heretical dogmas, the losses suffered by them, and the fear they feel, without knowing its cause, are nothing but a penitential sin (*un peccato penale*) and a conflicting sentiment, imposed on them as a divine judgment. No one preaches or lectures publicly in theology, until after he has been examined by the archbishop, or approved and sworn by the bishop. It hence ensues that without further law or statute, the preachers and public professors of theology propound to the people one sole doctrine, according to the will of their superiors, so that the greater part of their sermons and lessons (*lezioni*) consists in abusing the Pope, in preaching the repudiation of wives, and maintaining whatever their masters choose. For these causes, they lately condemned the Bishop of Winchester, a very worthy man, and who led the best of lives; they deprived him of his bishopric, which was perhaps his greatest sin, as it yielded him a rental of 12,000 crowns; and some other bishops who will not conform to their opinions are to be sacrificed in like manner. In addition to this, there are divers sects all over the country, where there may be said to reign the confusion of tongues, a dissolute license, a manifest scourge from God, by giving refuge to all the fugitive apostates from France, Italy, and Germany; and had the ambassador to give a name to their heresies, as the followers of the chief of them consider the mass idolatrous by its consecration, and as they do not admit the real presence, he thinks they might be styled Sacramentarians. This much will suffice with regard to religion, on account of which they had the audacity to enter the reporter's house, in violation of ambassadorial privileges, seizing the priest who was celebrating mass for him at home, as written by the ambassador to the Doge in his letter, dated 24th July last.

Preaching.

Sects.

The Army.

Will now pass to the offensive and defensive military power of

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the English, and show how they are inclined towards their neighbours and the other powers.

The military discipline of the English is according to the fashion of their forefathers; for, immediately on war being declared, the forces are mustered by the royal command in each of the counties, originally 39 in number, to which 12 were subsequently added from Wales, each being ruled by a nobleman, styled the King's Lord Lieutenant, appointed for one year, to enforce the royal commands.

Musters.

The villages, castles, and all the other places, send the whole of their male population capable of bearing arms, from the age of 15 years to 40, and from 16 to 60, who are all mustered on a spacious plane, where they perform their military exercise with such arms as they possess, in the presence of the commanders (*magistrati*) appointed for this purpose. The stoutest and most robust are then selected, and England has in fact men of strength and well proportioned; and were they equally able to endure a long run of fatigue and privations, believes that no militia could equal that of England.

Of these able-bodied men, some serve on foot, others on horseback. Those who are neither tall nor short, but of agile frame, are mounted, and divided into two classes, one of light-horse, the other of men-at-arms, consisting for the most part of gentlemen rather than of others, as they are better able to bear the expense and to provide themselves with good horses.

Of the light cavalry, part are armed in the Albanian fashion, and the others with a shirt of mail and a sallet (*mezza testa*), and a light long spear, and they use any sort of horse, as they never charge, save in flank, and they are called demi-lances (*lancette*).

Archers.

The infantry is formed of taller men and divided into four sorts. The first is of archers, who abound in England and are very excellent, both by nature and from practice, so that the archers alone have often been seen to rout armies of 30,000 men. The second is of bill-men, their weapon being a short thick staff (*asta*), with an iron like a peasant's hedging bill, but much thicker and heavier than what is used in the Venetian territories. With this, they strike so violently as to unhorse the cavalry; and it is made short because they like close quarters. The third are the harquebusiers, who are good for little, as only a few of them have had practice south of the Channel; and this sort, together with the fourth, which consists of pike-men, has been more recently added to the ancient militia of England.

Of these four sorts of militia, they can raise an army of 100,000 men, 20,000 of whom will be very excellent archers, 20,000 cavalry (of whom scarcely the fourth part men-at-arms), and the rest harquebusiers and pikes; but on no occasion, or very rarely indeed, are they in the habit of mustering this entire force, because if they make war on the French the northern counties do not stir; if opposed to the Scots, the southern provinces are not mustered; but if threatened from several quarters, they then appoint four commanders, one for each of the four parts of the kingdom, so that

The French and
the Scots.

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successes.

from whatever point the enemy may come they meet a commander-in-chief and his army.

Confirms what he stated previously about the father of Edward VI., who, at the age of 25 years declared war on the French, and took Terouenne and Tournai. After worsting the French (and he had 60,000 paid troops in France and England), he routed the Scots and killed their king, who with that opportunity had invaded England. At that time he had 6,000 archers in Spain to aid Ferdinand [the Catholic] in his attack on Navarre, and the English fleet numbered 120 sail; in addition to which, many powers have been assisted with men and money by the English, who, if they employed foreign soldiery, paid dearly for them.

The military commanders (*magistrati*) are as follows:—The captain-general fills the first post; the second is held by the marshal, who in the general's absence, fills his place; the other is the provost of all the cavalry (*il proposto di tutta la cavalleria*); and there is the treasurer, the master of the militia, the master of the ordnance, the colonel, and many other inferior officers whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

Mode of battle.

The infantry is divided into companies of 100 men, who have their captain, lieutenant, ensign, and serjeant. The cavalry is also divided into squadrons of 100, and officered in like manner. The cavalry use trumpets, the infantry use drums; and legitimate war is always announced by a herald. When the army takes the field, the camp is fortified with waggons and barricades (*impedimenti*), and should the enemy be near at hand they dig trenches, with earthworks (*argini di terra*), and place the artillery in suitable position. They have two sorts of watchmen, one of cavalry, called scout (*scotta*), the other of infantry, called sentry. On receiving notice of the enemy's approach, the whole camp immediately raises the English cry of "Bows! bows!" which is the nation's last hope, and they all rush to a spacious place called the camp square (*la piazza del campo*), and there await orders.

In the camp they also pass sentences, both capital and civil, but summarily and "*de plano*," over which the marshal of the army presides, with the assistance of certain lawyers, and this tribunal is styled the court-martial (*la corte della guerra*).

The Navy.

Will now tell of the navy of England, whose position being insular save where it touches Scotland, the English, therefore, by reason of their numerous harbours and islands, have a very great quantity both of ships and sailors, and are very powerful at sea (*e nel mare vagliono assai*). In case of need they can fit out 500 vessels, of which upwards of 100 are decked; and many men-of-war (*e molte per uso della guerra*) are stationed permanently in several places. There are also some 20 ships which they call "galleons," not very high (*non molto alti*) [out of the water?] but long and wide (*ma lunghi e grossi*), with which, in the late wars, they fought all their battles.

They do not use galleys, by reason of the very great strength of the tides in the ocean, so that as the reporter was told by the Prior of Capua [Leone Strozzi], when he went with six galleys to

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fetch the Queen of Scotland,* the navigation of those seas differs from that of all others, as unless the tide be favourable the wind is of very little use. On the shores the sea rises to the height of a tall house, so quickly that it is marvellous; for it chokes (*ingorga*) the mouths of the rivers and swells them to a distance of 70 or 80 miles up stream, so that two galleys are always kept in readiness for whatever may occur.

The Admiralty. The naval affairs are directed by the Lord High Admiral, one of the chief officers of state, on whom many magistracies and offices connected with the fleet depend; and they issue awards from a tribunal of their own called the Admiralty Court, whose jurisdiction embraces maritime affairs exclusively, and what occurs on the high seas, they taking cognizance of whatever relates to piracy and shipwrecks; and their sentences are based on civil law, and the president of the court is a lawyer.

Pirates. The punishment inflicted on corsairs is to hang them in such a way that their toes well nigh touch the water, so they are generally hanged on the banks of rivers and on the sea shore.

"Wreck of the
sea."

The claims on wrecked property are in like manner decided according to the laws of England, which decree that such as is stranded belongs either to the King or to the proprietor of the soil near the shore if the King concede it; but with regard to the other things,† the laws are more humane, even in the case of enemies, as all aliens, and especially merchants, are fully authorised to go all over the kingdom; and if of a hostile nation, enquiry is made first of all how Englishmen are treated in their country, and as they do by others so is it done by them. In conclusion, all men registered for military or naval service, are exempt by law from all taxes on real and personal property (*sono essenti dalle leggi quanto appartiene a tutte le possessioni, et beni, tanto mobili, quanto stabili*), and live under the King's protection; but touching naval commanders, Barbaro would be at a loss to name a pair, but says there is the Earl of Warwick [John Dudley], who is sage and brave, and the Privy Seal [John Russell Earl of Bedford], for land service, but does not know how good they would prove at sea, nor what other admirals England could supply.§

Naval Com-
manders.

This is the entire form of the military discipline of the English [on sea and land], and would be perfectly devised if the soldiers were suitably exercised before being required for active service, as is the case with the sailors, who constantly keep the sea clear from Flemish and Breton corsairs, and especially from the Scots, who, being very needy, observe neither peace nor truce, but for all that, they dare not molest the English villages (*luoghi*) and harbours.

Fortresses.

Will now give an abridged account of the fortresses of England,

* In July and August 1550 (see Foreign Calendar, pp. 51, 53).

† Se il Re lo concede, query, if the land was granted by the crown.

‡ "Ma nelle altre cose," goods found at sea; flotson?

§ Ma quanto aspetta ad huomini da capo io non ne saprei nominare un paro. Evvi il Conte di Warwick, savio et animoso, et il Privisillo da terra. Ma da mare non so, come sariano buoni, ne qual altro ci fosse.

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derived from a distinct and detailed description obtained by him with great difficulty and at great cost.

Towards the German ocean (*verso il mare di Fiandra*) within Scotland, is a small mud-built village on the sea, called Lauder* [Lanfort], the only one remaining of the eight captured by the English at the beginning of the last war.

They keep a captain and 50 men there, with artillery and ammunition for its defence.

Berwick.

Coasting thence towards England the frontier town of Berwick presents itself. It is fortified in the modern fashion, and the works are still in progress; does not believe it to be strong, compared with the fortresses of Italy, as may be ascertained by the drawing.† The place is guarded by a colony of Englishmen, established there a long while since; there are some thousand men within, and it is provided with everything necessary. The governor has a guard of 400 men, who are his own servants, so that the King spends little for them. The governor is one of the chief noblemen of England, and he has also 200 demi-lances (*lancette*). Off this coast is Holy Island,‡ where there is a stronghold (*una rocca*) built on a rock, facing east and south, ill designed, but well supplied; where, in time of war, an admiral of the North resides, with an amount of vessels at the King's option; but in time of peace the place is held by a captain with only 40 men.

Dover.

Proceeding thence along the coast as far as Dover (the ferry-port from Calais), there is no fortress where the King need spend anything for garrisons, as the inhabitants of the territory perform that office and burn beacons on certain eminences, as a signal for mustering the forces immediately. Dover is strong, solely from its position and very extensive seaview, and by reason of certain casemates (*caverne*), where they keep the guns commanding the harbour, as the castle, being very high, cannot defend it. In this place, they keep a captain who remains below, and a warden who resides in the castle, the two together having but 100 men, as all the inhabitants of the town keep guard themselves. All persons bound for England from Boulogne or Calais, make this passage as the shortest, the distance being 30 or 40 miles.

Isle of Wight.

After weathering the head-land of England, proceeding along the southern coast, the Isle of Wight presents itself, the garrison consisting of a governor with but few troops, the local militia sufficing; and it is provided with supplies of every sort, the place being important, and the defence of the whole southern coast, as far as the headland of Cornwall, which is 300 miles from Dover by land, and the broadest part of the island.

The Scotch
Borders.

Having made the point of Cornwall on the Irish Channel, along the coast to the northward there are several harbours, such as Bristol and Chester, the passage port for Ireland, nor is there any other stronghold, or very expensive station, the aforesaid regulations sufficing. It is true that at Carlisle on the English border

* See Hume, vol. iii. p. 310. Ed. London 1744.

† The drawing does not exist in the MS.

‡ The Holy Island of Lindisfarne.

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towards Scotland, they have a captain with some 200 horse and foot, and he keeps strict watch over the town as in time of war it is usual to do, and the peace is always precarious. The borders of England and Scotland are divided by the river Tweed and the Cheviot Hills, in which space is Wark (*Warch*), where there is a captain with 50 horse and 50 foot. It has been strengthened lately, as at first it was [merely] a round brick tower, with a poor castle to the south. It is now enlarged and fortified, so that it has withstood many bombardments. It is very well defended towards the north by the Tweed, and is amply provisioned. Three miles from Wark is Roxburgh (*Roesprun—sic*), distant 12 miles from Berwick (*Albarrich*), both which places are garrisoned likewise.

Isle of Man.

In the whole of England there is no other important fortress, as the chief strength of that realm consists in its inhabitants. The very famous and extensive (*assai nominata e grande*) Isle of Man has no fortress, save its male population, the subjects of the Earl of Derby, a most noble and very great personage, and much beloved. In time of war, however, the English have never had any scarcity either of artillery or military supplies (*munizioni*), excepting of late when the affairs of the government were less well directed; and many fortresses were erected in places which could not be victualled without an army of 10,000 men, thus causing great confusion and incredible cost, which will embarrass the country for many a day. It is true that no better nor more useful expense could be incurred than that which is now being made for the custody and defence of Calais; a very strong and most secure place, where the English have firm footing on this side of the Channel; but they have need of veterans, and men inured to hardship, because the English know not how to lay siege, nor can they endure sieges, although in other respects they are most obedient to their commanders. Such are the means of offence and defence possessed by England, but the true mode of waging war in either fashion, is by money, and with the revenues and resources (*comodità*) of the country, of which he will now give account.

Calais.

Wool, tin, lead.

With regard to the territory, nature has endowed it with great beauty and productiveness (*bontà*), and amongst its chief endowments it has very fine and most excellent wool. It is also rich in metals, such as tin and lead, in very great quantity, so that besides the home consumption, they export annually to the value of 2,000,000 of gold, to Antwerp, as to a centre whence it is distributed in various parts. There are animals of every sort, and such a plenty of pasturage, that 1,000 sheep may be fattened for a crown. In some places grain abounds, and there would be much more did not the natives shun fatigue; but they satisfy their wants and seek nothing more (*ma sono accomodati, e non cercano di più*).

Wales, and the Welsh.

The principality of Wales, which is given to the King's eldest son, is very rich in meadow land (*campagne*), and one of the most fertile provinces; but by so much the worse cultivated, as the inhabitants are more ill-disposed (*più maligni*) than the rest of the population, and they are given to theft (*e dediti ai latrocinj*); and the Welsh boast of being the true aboriginal Britons, preserved from the many invasions of many nations who at various times

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occupied the island, which was subjugated by the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and others. Although England produces neither wine nor oil, yet, besides having a sufficient supply of both one and the other, through the facilities of navigation, they might dispense with those importations, availing themselves of beer in lieu of wine, and of butter and rape oil instead of olive-oil. They make salt in several places, nor is it taxed. They have an abundance of firewood (*fanno legne in abbondanza*), and a great quantity of leguminous produce, saffron, and fish; so that quarters (*alloggiamenti*) are very good and convenient, a manifest proof of the fertility of the country.

The King's
revenue.Court of Aug-
mentations.

Besides the King's ordinary revenue, he has all that of the church property; because, having (as aforesaid) suppressed the monasteries, the possessions of the monks were confiscated, and in this manner King Henry doubled his revenue; and the Exchequer-officials in ordinary being unable so immediately to collect the proceeds of the ecclesiastical revenue, which was so much increased, he instituted the "Court of Augmentations" [to collect the additional revenue] which thus lapsed to the Crown; nor is this court less litigious than the first Court of Exchequer, as law-suits arise constantly about leasehold property. There is the president, styled the "Chancellor of the Augmentations," with some lawyers and accountants; some of whom have care of the exchequer, and others attend to the dispatch of the suits. To this court are added the possessions of criminals condemned for high treason, who by the laws of England lose all their property besides their lives; and any person convicted of homicide or theft forfeits to the lord of the manor (*al patrone del fondo*) all his inheritance, one year's rental being reserved for the King.* After the Pope was deprived of all authority, the rental of one year and one day of all vacant benefices, as paid heretofore to his Holiness, was assigned to the King by Parliament, as also the tenth part of the fruits of every year; which gave rise to "the Court of First Fruits or annates, and of the Tenth," over which a Chancellor presides with assessors, writers (*scrivani*), and officials (*ministri*), who prevent any one from taking possession of an ecclesiastical benefice, unless the Court receive security for the annate and the annual tenth; and they pass sentence concerning suits of this sort. From the revenues of these courts, the crown receives annually 800,000 crowns, which include abbacies, monasteries of friars and nuns, the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, the first fruits and the tenths, hospitals, colleges, free chapels and chantries; although there is much usurpation and robbery (*rapine*) on the part of the officials, who do not allow the whole account to be seen, ill gained property necessarily making a bad end; and certain great personages are said to have had as many as 30 prebends.

Court of First
Fruits and
Tenths.

There is also another source of revenue, which originated from a good cause but subsequently became iniquitous. In the year

* In the MS. at the Archives, the words are "e se alcuno è convinto di furto o di omicidio, satisfà." The paragraph in the copy of the report in the Correr Museum runs thus, "et si alcuno è convinto di omicidio o di furto satisfà al patrone del fondo de tutta la eredità riservando al Re il frutto d' un anno."

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sidered as an
evil.The Court of
Wards.Taxes, customs,
and subsidies.

1220, from the goodwill borne by the people to Henry III., who having come to the throne poor, and being also obliged to send troops for the conquest of the Holy Land, it was conceded him that whenever a feudatory of the King died leaving children under the age of 21 years, the property and the children were to be in ward to the King, he, in the meanwhile, enjoying the whole revenue. These fiefs were many, very few estates being held otherwise than under the King, so that the system proving very profitable to the Crown, not only did all future sovereigns exercise this prerogative, but it was also claimed by all superiors of fiefs, and moreover confirmed to them by law. But if originally a very good institution, as the King derived advantage from it, while the wards were taken charge of and educated like the King's sons and becoming very able men (*uomini valentissimi*), so at present is the thing brought to such a pitch that worse is impossible; for the marriages of the wards whether male or female are given and sold at the option of the feudatory, and should they wed without his consent the cost of their marriage license is trebled; in addition to which, the wards, on attaining their majority at the age of 21 years, pay a certain fine, called "*Relief*," to the master of the fief when they marry; so as almost all these fiefs are held from the King he derives a very great revenue from them, which is increasing daily, both from the wards and also through the sale of the marriages; so that King Henry instituted the so called "Court of Wards." The consequence is that the nobility degenerates from day to day, as everybody buys these wardships, giving an opportunity for the male and female wards to converse together and do what is unbecoming.*

Another mischievous effect is also caused by this system, namely, that the wards, on coming of age, find their houses in decay, their woods felled, and their estates despoiled, precisely as if they had been ravaged by an enemy; so that, on this account likewise, the English nobility, having their possessions thus devastated, being put to great expense to recover themselves, and despoiled of their money, rarely become rich, and are often compelled to sell their paternal inheritance.

From these revenues the King may derive about 400,000 ducats, and will henceforth probably obtain much more; but in like manner as the first sort of revenue is impious, so is the second very injurious.

The Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, which lapsed to the Crown some time ago, yield 80,000 ducats.

With regard to the duties and gabels there is little to tell, as the few taxed commodities, such as wool, lead, and tin; and wines on importation, do not yield 100,000 ducats.

This, in short, is the King's revenue, which amounts to one million and from three to four hundred thousand ducats, as appears by the registers of the customers and tax gatherers of many places

* "*Dando occasione a figli e figliuole di star insieme e far delle cose che non stanno bene.*" In the MS. in the Correr Museum, "*dando occasione à figli e figliuole di maritarsi et far cose che non stanno bene.*"

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and passage ports such as Bridgwater (*Briguarth*), Bristol, Boston, Dover? (*Donthe*), London, Newcastle, York, Chester (*Cicestria*), Kingston, Hampton, Sandwich (*Suntve*), Yarmouth (*Jermouth*), and Poole (*Pulch*); and in this total are also included the subsidies, which are not imposed annually, but according to Act of Parliament. These subsidies are levied according to a valuation, and the English pay one half less than aliens.

Ireland.

From Ireland they obtain 28,000 ducats, but the cost far exceeds that sum. The truth is that there having been a mint in Ireland in which they coined sufficient silver for the payment of the King's garrisons there, it was farmed this year by certain great personages in company with some merchants, and they coin money, giving the King 80,000 ducats. Their rapacity induced them to do this, for they debase the coin, making two pieces of money out of one, so much to the detriment of the people and the merchants, that by this time no one knows how much money he has, nor have the merchants any longer credit, and they daily become bankrupts at Antwerp; and in truth the injury sustained by a kingdom or a commonwealth when the purity of its coinage and gold is not preserved is inestimable. But the merchants in Ireland prosper, as the soil is very good and the climate milder than England, being more to the westward. Ireland produces much leather, linen, kersies? (*grisi sic*), metals, and good horses.

The royal ex-
penditure.

The expenditure is indeed great; first of all the salaried officials of the Court and of the King's household receive 200,000 crowns; and then there is the cost of twenty-two tables for those personages (*signori*) who are boarded at the King's expense, amounting to 180,000 crowns; and the service and state (*servizio e l'onorevolezza*) of those who take their meals at the Court daily is a very superb sight.

The King's sisters and the repudiated Duchess of Cleves, including the augmentations since the death of Henry VIII., receive annually for their board 16,000 crowns each.*

Defence of
Ireland and
Calais.

There are also the garrisons of several places, especially in Ireland and at Calais, those troops being paid as on foreign service; so that in Ireland the coast is very well guarded, as also the principal places, such as Waterford, Dublin, Cork, Carrickfergus, &c., &c., where the King has 3,000 infantry, including harquebusiers and archers, besides the cavalry, at an annual cost of 50,000 ducats.† In Ireland there is a Viceroy, with an allowance of 1,000 marks (equal to 3,000 crowns) for his board, there being also other officials, such as treasurers, chancellors, &c., at a cost of about 4,000 ducats.

For the fortresses the King spends 16,000 crowns; for the Tower of London, where the ammunition and the Mint are, about 4,000 or 5,000 ducats; for pensions extraordinary to persons away from the Court, and for the repairs of the palaces, some 10,000; and for the fortresses across the Channel, namely, Calais, Guines, Ardres, and a few others, about 40,000 ducats. In pensions extraordinary beyond

* In the Archive MS. is written "the King's three sisters," but the copy of the report in the Correr Museum corrects the mistake as above.

† In the Archive MS. 4000 crowns; but 50,000 ducats in the Correr Museum MS.

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the Court, such as musicians, architects, artificers, engineers, and pay for foreign military commanders and others, as left by his father, 60,000; to keep up the Treasury Court (*foro fiscale*), and the Exchequer (*lo scaccario*), 60,000; for stores (*cose*) for the navy and the arsenal, 10,000 crowns (*sic*).

His Majesty has also some armed ships for the safety of the coast and the merchants, and if ten in number, they cannot cost him less than 100,000 ducats.

This is his Majesty's expenditure, which, with other petty charges, may amount to 900,000 ducats; but the residue is so burdened with interest and debts and securities that but little remains; and allowance must also be made for mismanagement and the plunder made by the chief officials, which is surprising; for, from 1537, when King Henry was declared Supreme Head of the Church, until 1547, the year of his death, what with gold, silver, jewels, crosses, chalices, images, copper, lead, brass, bells, paraments, and the like, he obtained about 5,000,000 of gold.

Moneys levied
by Henry VIII.

From the confiscated estates of noblemen beheaded by him he got 160,000 ducats revenue, that is to say, 3,200,000 ducats, and he sold church property to an equal amount.

From his subjects he extorted (*cavò*) a subsidy of 4,800,000 ducats, payable in three years.

He imposed a benevolence (*un accatto*) on the whole realm, which yielded 2,000,000.

He levied a contribution amounting to 1,840,000 ducats, making a sum total of 20,340,000 ducats.

Henry VIII.'s
expenditure.

By this account it is seen that he was master of all the gold and silver of his realm, which was the cause of its ruin; as, besides the evil mode of obtaining the money, his caprices made him spend it as badly as it was acquired, ruining both the nobility and the people; and therefore he commenced building along the coast of England some 50 fortresses, which cost him 1,200,000 ducats.

He made the port of Dover, and spent 400,000 ducats on the borders of Scotland at Berwick (*Barvi*), Carlisle, Wark? (*Whuor*), Newark? (*Zuvarche*). In Scotland, 160,000; in Portsmouth, 80,000; in Calais and other fortresses beyond the Channel, 800,000; in Upper and Lower Boulogne, in the harbour (*sic*) of the Old Man,* Boulongeberg (*Bolimber—sic*), Ambleteuse (*Anbertuol*), and Blackness, 500,000; in fortifying Ireland, 70,000; and for the construction of palaces, 1,680,000. When the King was abandoned by Reiffenberg,† he paid 480,000 ducats for 24,000 German troops. In building ships and making preparations for them, he expended 600,000 ducats; for the expedition against the insurgents who rose when they commenced destroying the abbacies, 1,600,000 ducats; 400,000 ducats were expended in aid of the Emperor; when he lately attacked the French; and 200,000 when he captured all the nobility of Scotland, and when the King died. In battering, taking, and keeping Boulogne, he spent 6,000,000, as he (Barbaro) was informed by the

French and
Scotch wars.

* Nel Porto d'Olmar.

† "Quando fu piantato da Reufframmeh." For notices of Friederic van Reiffenberg, Captain of infantry in the English service, see State Papers, vol. xi. Index.

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The government
of Scotland.

Lord Chancellor [Lord Wriothesly]. When the French fleet came to the Isle of Wight, 800,000 ducats were spent. After the war of Boulogne and its capture, until peace was made, the cost amounted to 800,000 ducats. When they went lately into Scotland, and were victorious by sea and land, it cost them 1,000,000; and for another armada by land and sea, another 1,000,000 was expended. Infinite sums were also spent in apparel, jewels, tapestries, and merchandize of many sorts, for the coronation of the new King. So as these costs, caused by wars, armadas, fortresses, insurrections, subsidies, etc., amount to 21,000,000 of gold, it cannot be supposed (as stated above) that any more remains of all the money which passed into the hands of Henry VIII.

The coinage.

This certainly seems monstrous, but considering how very many persons who had the management of the war have become immensely wealthy, and how recklessly the money is spent, and how many appetites his late Majesty had to gratify, this so vast an expenditure cannot be doubted. And what is more, King Henry, the master of such enormous treasure,—having been recommended not to coin money in the usual manner, and of the ordinary high standard, his advisers telling him that it would be exported, whereas by lowering the standard all would remain in the country, the treasure thus augmenting so as to form a permanent fund for the war with which he was threatened at the instigation of the Pope,—raised the price of foreign gold and coinage (*alzò gli ori e monete forestiere*), giving for such as was brought to the mint new and base money for that which was good, and thus keeping the gold for himself (*e così venne a prendere l'oro sopra di sè*). This caused incredible loss to the nobility and to the entire population, as with this example the standard becomes more and more debased daily, and they have well nigh come to coin false money, plating (*cuoprire*) copper with silver which is soon consumed; so this infamous money has fallen into such disrepute that those who make purchases with it pay fourfold, and thus with good reason the ruin of the country is anticipated.

Insurrection.

This so exasperated the people that, what with the new religion and the usurpation of the common-lands (*usurpazione dei beni comunali*), the country rose against the great landed proprietors (*contro i grandi*); some of the nobility likewise being very disaffected; so that foreign powers, finding the kingdom disunited, may avail themselves of some opportunity to attack England; and unless matters take some good turn, the Emperor might possibly no longer choose to put up with the injuries done to his cousin, the King's sister: the Scots also resenting the peace, because it was less to their advantage than to that of France. And that the Doge may know something about the friendship between France and Scotland, the reporter informs him that the government of the country is monarchical and hereditary, as in England, but more liable to civil discord, by reason of the power and private feuds of the nobility. They use two dialects, that of the civilized (*i domestici*), which differs but little from the English; the other of the uncivilized (*i selvaggi*), being quite different.

Description of
Scotland.

The fortress.

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of Scotland.

The King rules with the council of the nobles; they practise (*usano*) the civil laws, and hold parliaments in the English fashion; they abound more in men than in riches, as the King's annual revenue does not amount to 90,000 ducats, but so great is the population that should an invading army of 50,000 men suddenly make its appearance, it would be met in the field within ten hours, the population making bonfires from the hills, and mustering, armed with shirts of mail, and a sallet, a one-handed spear or sword, and a mace which they wield very dexterously, although with but one hand. On arriving at the field of battle, they leave their horses, which remain for the victor, never quitting the ground during the action. At a distance of every league there are two fortresses or strongholds (*rocche*), in which the people take refuge on the first outbreak of private feuds. The territory has no well-walled town. When the realm is under governors, owing to the King's minority, the Governor is as it were an absolute King; he exacts the revenues, and commands, and when he resigns his charge he is not bound to give account of anything; thus showing how unimportant the kingdom of Scotland is (*e quì si vede quanto poca cosa è il regno di Scozia*). And with regard to this, when he (Barbaro) was with the Earl of Warwick and returned thanks for the facilities afforded him for seeing that country, his Lordship said, "We are glad, for thou wilt have seen that the Scots alone are not a match for us." The Signory may rely upon it that the Scots have more cause to invade England than the English have to attack Scotland, which is a very poor country, and its inhabitants little industrious (*poco industriosi*), and, delighting in robbery (*latrocinij*), rather than in toil. They have, however, very convenient and good harbours, nor is there any sea-town without a sufficient and convenient port, including one called Sickersand (*sic*), signifying sand of safety, because, however violent the storm, no ship can come to harm in that gulf (*in quel golfo*); nor is there a house in all Scotland distant more than 20 miles from salt water, as arms of the ocean enter it in very many places.

Its commodities.

Scotland is marvellously mountainous, sterile, rugged, and marshy, and this is its safety. As half the country is without trees, they burn stones (*pietre*) and peat (*zeppa di terreno*), of which there is plenty. They have wool, and gold and silver mines, but know not how to work them. When he visited Scotland, the Queen [Marie de Guise, Queen Dowager] assured him that from as much earth as she could hold in her two hands she extracted nine ounces of good gold, and on her return to France purposed having the soil worked, hoping it would prove very profitable. The plenty and variety of fish in Scotland, as also the size of the whales and sea monsters there, are incredible. Will however now leave nature aside and come to art, as Scotland is in such a state that, having got out of the hands of the English, she is about to place herself in the power of the French. The whole safety of Scotland depends on three chief places; one near Dumbarton, a natural rock in the midst of many waters, separated from all the other peaks, lofty, rugged, and secure, and it is also well supplied with every artificial

Its fortresses.

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defence, and there the young Queen saved herself when the Protector [Somerset] sought to seize her.* The second is Leith (*Forth-Leith*) in the Gulf of Edinburgh, near which is the third place Inchkeith † (*l'Isola del Cavallo*). These two places, which the English hold in great account, were occupied by them at the time of the war [1549], but which they were unable to retain, for Leith (*Forthleith*) was retaken from them partly by force and partly by the stratagem of Mons. de Thermes, who was the most Christian King's lieutenant, and the Scots captured Inchkeith (*l'Isola*) whilst the English were fortifying it.

Its relations
with France.

These fortresses, when in the hands of any sovereign, give him no less power than that of the man with his arms round another's throat whom he can thus strangle at his pleasure; nor could the Scots save themselves unless they raised fortifications elsewhere, which they might do by reason of their convenient positions; but they are incapable either of erecting fortresses or of defending them; and, as the French took Leith (*Forthleith*) and helped the Scots to recover Inchkeith (*l'Isola del Cavallo*), those two places are in possession of France. Nor do the Scots keep soldiers in any other fortress; Dumbarton alone having a garrison of 1,500 men, under a lieutenant, who does his utmost to guard the place, not for the need of Scotland but as a curb upon England, so as not to be attacked in the rear (*per assicurarsi dalle spalle*), and therefore the place is abundantly supplied with all necessary stores. So that thus, and by the marriage of the Dauphin to the young Queen, the King of France begins to have a right to that realm, dispossessing the English entirely; in addition to which, his policy is very adroit, for the Queen Dowager having gone to France, taking with her the chief nobility of Scotland, the King bought them completely; so that in France there is neither Scottish duke, nor lord, nor prelate, nor lady, nor dame, but who is munificently bribed by the most Christian King.

The relations of
England with
France and
the Emperor.

Such are the means employed by his Majesty, who, finding himself very rich, and wishing to assume other undertakings, shows that he does not purpose leading an idle life, but has lofty aspirations.

From this, the dispositions of England and France may be conjectured; but the one makes no demonstration from inability, and the other, either because she cannot now attend to this matter, or from unwillingness to rouse the Emperor, who, neither upon the complaints of his cousin [Mary Tudor] nor by reason of the peace made with the Scots, from whom he claimed compensation for the infinite damages done by them to Flanders, nor for any other cause, has ever chosen openly to evince his resentment against the English, who well know how much they deserve it, nor would it fail to alarm them if they thought he had leisure to meddle with their affairs.

Will not allude to other powers, as there are none who from neighbourhood or from claims have anything to do with England.

* In July 1548.

† The Island of Inchkeith was taken and retaken in 1549. (See Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 4th July 1549, p. 42.)

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The Signory is supposed by the English to be friendly to them; they delight at being reminded of this friendship through the Doge's ambassadors, and hold it in very great account, so that his ministers are well received, as was the case with himself (Barbaro).

Grant of arms
by Edward VI.
to D. Barbaro.

Endeavoured to serve the State to the best of his ability, and to represent it honourably; and, although he spent much of the little he was able to deprive his family of, he nevertheless thinks he has made a great gain. The King honoured him by the grant of a part of his armorial bearings, giving him the "rose,"* and also made him a present of the 1,000 crowns placed by him at the Doge's feet; nor does he dare ask them of his Serenity as a gift, either by reason of the expenses he has incurred, or on any other account, save as a mark that the service performed by him has been agreeable to the State, and that it may encourage him to serve his country in whatever position and grade the Signory may be pleased to place him. And without disparaging or acting invidiously towards any other official, he will not conclude without commending the service rendered him by his secretary, Luigi di Agostino, whose diligence and fidelity to the State do not yield to those of any other foreign minister in the Signory's employment; and he recommends him to the Doge more warmly than he does himself.

[*Italian.*]

May 13.
Senato Mar,
v. xxxi. p. 92.

704. MOTION made in the SENATE by Ser Carlo Morosini, Procurator Sage of the Council, and Ser Sebastian Venier, Sage for the Mainland, for a grant to the late Ambassador in England.

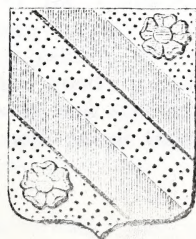
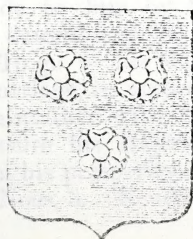
Their beloved noble, Daniel Barbaro, LL.D., has at great cost, as seen by his letters written from time to time, and according to the "Report" now made by him, filled the post of ambassador to the King of England during 18 months, nor should this Council fail to render him such ample demonstration of gratitude as usually made to other ambassadors.

Put to the ballot, that the 600 doubloons (*doble*) given by the King to the ambassador aforesaid on his departure be freely granted to him.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 25. Neutrals, 3. *Expulsis affinibus.*

[*Italian.*]

* Of the nine Barbaro shields engraved by Coronelli, two bear the rose of England, as hereunder.



1551.

June 12.
Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.
File no. 8.

705. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME.

According to the collation of the patriarchate of Aquileia in the person of the Right Rev. Barbaro, it is assumed that he was a churchman at the time, which was not the case; so, lest hereafter this collation be disputed, we, with our Council of Ten and Junta, charge you to endeavour to obtain from his Holiness a declaration confirming said collation as if he had been a churchman from the first, especially as he was at the time in England, where he could not receive holy orders. The ambassador is to endeavour that the declaration be in efficient form, and to transmit the same to the Chiefs.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian.*]

July 22.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxvii. p. 135,
tergo.

706. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

On the 7th instant the Turkish fleet, numbering 137 sail, passed the channel of Corfu, having made every friendly demonstration, and steered westward.

This notice to be communicated also to the foreign ambassadors at Venice.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxvii. p. 145,
tergo.

707. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

By his letters of the 19th ult. have heard of the agreement between the Kings of France and England, and of the marriage of the latter to his most Christian Majesty's daughter. Subsequently the French Ambassador acquainted them with the agreement by order of his King, who, considering them his good friends, is certain they will derive satisfaction from his prosperity. Desire him to congratulate the King on the agreement, and conclusion of the marriage.

Is also to congratulate the Queen, and to give notice of these offices to the Constable.

Ayes, 205. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxvii. p. 154.

708. The SAME to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of the 18th ult., announcing the communication made to him by the Lords of the Council, of the marriage of the daughter of his most Christian Majesty to the most Serene King. To go to his Majesty and congratulate him in their name on the marriage, in accordance with the good friendship they have always maintained with his predecessors, and still have with himself. To assure his Majesty that they will at all times derive satisfaction from his prosperity.

Ayes, 199. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1551.

Sept. 9.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

**709. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR
in ENGLAND.**

Enclose summaries for communication as usual.
[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxvii. p. 158.

**710. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CON-
STANTINOPLE.**

Understand by their last letters from France, dated the 15th August, that the most Christian King was at Fontainebleau, and had stipulated the marriage of his daughter to the King of England; and as they are both minors, the French Princess will be taken to England to remain there until the consummation of the marriage.
Ayes, 188. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.
Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.
File no. 8.

**711. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian
Ambassador in England.**

By his letters addressed to them on the 17th ult. have heard what he had to tell them about their most faithful Sebastian Cabot, which pleased them much. Commend him greatly for his diligence in giving them a detailed account of his qualities and parts. Desire him in reply to let Cabot know that they are extremely gratified by his offer. As to the request made to the ambassador by the Lords of the Council* about the credits and recovery of property claimed by him, to say that the Signory wishes to do whatever may be agreeable to the King and their Lordships; but as no one in Venice knows Cabot, it would be necessary for him to come in person to identify himself and prove his rights, the matters in question being of very ancient date. Gave this same answer to his Majesty's ambassador, who made the demand of them in accordance with his (Soranzo's) letter.

To communicate the whole to Cabot, that he may ask and obtain leave to come to Venice. To favour the suit, that Cabot may return to them as soon as possible, and in the meanwhile to endeavour to obtain from Cabot as many particulars as he can about his design respecting this navigation,† giving the Chiefs especial notice of the whole.‡

Ayes, 25. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

**712. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR
in ENGLAND.**

Enclose summaries for communication as usual.
[*Italian.*]

* In Foreign Calendar, date Venice, 12th September 1551 (p. 171), there is the reply of Peter Vannes to the Council "touching Sebastian Cabot's matter," as mentioned in Sir Thomas Hardy's Report on Venetian Archives, p. 8.

† The north-west passage?

‡ On the margin of this draft there are the words "in ziffra," signifying that it was to be put into cipher.

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Oct. 13.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.**713. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

By letters from Antwerp and London dated the 20th and 22nd ult. have heard, much to their regret, that his most Christian Majesty's fleet has captured two Venetian ships, bound to England with Malmsies, one of which is supposed to be the "Ragazona." Some say they have been taken to Brittany, others into "Abla nova" (*sic*). Although they consider it certain, as stated by them to the French ambassador at Venice, that this seizure will have greatly displeased his most Christian Majesty, and that he will have immediately ordered the release of the vessels, as becoming the Republic's observance towards him, they nevertheless desire their ambassador to go to the King immediately and to make two demands of him, the one (should the ships not have been already released, which they however cannot believe) that they be set at liberty forthwith, without any loss, so as clearly to show how much he regrets the seizure, on account of the Signory's friendship; the other, that he will give such orders to the Magnifico [the Constable ?] and his other ministers, that henceforth the same regard be had for Venetian vessels as is had for those of France, which are well treated everywhere, so that they may navigate in safety.

Ayes, 19. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[Italian.]

Oct. 13.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.**714. The SAME to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.**

By advices from London and Antwerp, have heard of the seizure by the most Christian King's fleet of two of their ships, one of which is the "Ragazona," bound with Malmsies to England; and that, on hearing this, he (Soranzo) complained to the French Ambassador, who thereupon wrote to the Admiral and to the Constable of France for the release of said ships. Commend him greatly for this, and should he hear that the release has not yet been effected, which they can hardly believe by reason of their friendship with his Majesty, to continue performing such offices with the French Ambassador as shall seem to him suited to that end.

Ayes, 19. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[Italian.]

Nov. 3.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.**715. The SAME to the SAME.**

Have received his letters of the 10th ult. announcing the communication made to him by order of his Majesty's Lords of the Council of the causes for which they determined to arrest the Duke of Somerset and other Lords, which is in accordance with what has also been represented to them by the English Ambassador. Commend his prudent reply, and charge him, after expatiating to the King and Councillors on the Republic's friendship for the Crown of England, to thank them in the Signory's name for so loving and confidential an office, assuring the King that they greatly regret any accident or annoyance that may befall him, but trust that

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through the prudence of the Lords of the Council, affairs will take the turn required for his own peace of mind, and for the union of the entire realm under his Majesty's sway.

Regret to hear of the wreck of the ship "Ragazona,"* and praise him greatly for the diligence used by him to recover and preserve the effects and merchandise on board. Desire him to continue rendering all possible assistance for that purpose, which they have beyond measure at heart, for the indemnity of their nobles and citizens concerned in that adventure.

Ayes, 21. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. xlvii. p. 183,
tergo.

716. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard from England that the Duke of Somerset, late Protector, has been sent to the Tower, with his wife and children, and some of his dependents, on a charge of plotting against the lives of the Lords of the Council, in order to seize the Tower, where the King's most precious effects are preserved, and to fortify himself within it. The Queen of Scotland, who had been in France, has returned to Scotland. To communicate this intelligence to the Porte as usual.

Ayes, 167. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1552.

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Jan. 19.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

717. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

718. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

719. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

* Of this wreck, there is a notice in Foreign Calendar, date 24th November 1551, p. 197.

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Feb. 26.

Senato Mar.
v. xxxi. p. 166.**720. FRANCESCO BERNARDO.**

Motion made in the Senate by Ser Domenico Bollani, Knight, Sage for the Mainland, and Ser Antonio Vitturi, Sage for the Orders.

That the Proveditors and Masters of the Arsenal be desired to send a cable to the agents of the nobleman Ser Francesco Bernardo, knight, for the need of his ship, expected to arrive off the harbour from day to day, he depositing in ready money the cost of said cable, according to the tenor of the laws, for its wear (*mendo*) or loss.

Ayes, 182. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

721. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices lately received from their Bailo at Constantinople, which they and the Senate desire him to communicate as usual.

Virtute Decreti Excellentissimi Senatus,
diei 5 Martij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

722. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^{mi} Senatus,
diei 16 Martij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

723. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^{mi} Senatus,
diei ultimi Martij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

724. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^{mi} Senatus,
diei 11 Aprilis 1552.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

725. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^{mi} Senatus,
diei 22 Aprilis 1552.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

726. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^{mi} Senatus,
diei 5 Maij 1552.

[*Italian.*]

1332

Feb. 28

Letter del Col.
pago (Santiago).
File no. 10.

730. FARRINGTON BERNARD
Motion made in the Senate to order Bernard Farrington
for the President and Vice President of the Senate to be
that the President and Vice President of the Senate be
sent a cable to the agents of the National Bank of the Republic
night, for the rest of his ship expected to arrive on the day
from day to day, he deposited in ready money the rest of said
cable, according to the letter of the day, for the National Bank of the Republic.

April 12, 1902, New York, N.Y.

[Italian]

731. The House and Senate to the President of the Republic

EXCERPTS

March 2.
Letter del Col.
pago (Santiago).
File no. 10.

Enclose summary of advice lately received from the House of
Representatives, which they and the Senate have been for some time
as usual.

Yours faithfully, Francisco Ferrer

del 2 Mayo 1902

[Italian]

732. The Senate to the House

Enclose summary of advice for communication as usual.
Yours faithfully, Francisco Ferrer
del 10 Mayo 1902

March 17.
Letter del Col.
pago (Santiago).
File no. 10.

[Italian]

733. The Senate to the House

Enclose summary of advice for communication as usual.
Yours faithfully, Francisco Ferrer
del 10 Mayo 1902

March 21.
Letter del Col.
pago (Santiago).
File no. 10.

[Italian]

734. The Senate to the House

Enclose summary of advice for communication as usual.
Yours faithfully, Francisco Ferrer
del 11 Mayo 1902

April 11.
Letter del Col.
pago (Santiago).
File no. 10.

[Italian]

735. The Senate to the House

Enclose summary of advice for communication as usual.
Yours faithfully, Francisco Ferrer
del 22 Mayo 1902

April 22.
Letter del Col.
pago (Santiago).
File no. 10.

[Italian]

736. The Senate to the House

Enclose summary of advice for communication as usual.
Yours faithfully, Francisco Ferrer
del 2 Mayo 1902

May 2.
Letter del Col.
pago (Santiago).
File no. 10.

[Italian]

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June 2.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

727. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices concerning the affairs of the Levant, for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Senatus,
diei p^{te} suprascriptæ.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

728. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

June 17.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

729. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Senato Terra,
v. lviii. p. 122.

730. MOTION made in the SENATE respecting the claims of FRANCESCO BERNARDO for compensation from the Crown of England.*

The petition of the nobleman, Francesco Bernardo, knight, having been read—

Put to the ballot, that license be granted to the aforesaid Francesco Bernardo, knight, within the term of one year only, to recover (*ritrarre*) from the King of England what he claims, but with the declaration that he may not attempt to recover anything whatever from the Crown of France.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 19. Neutrals, 12.

Die 22 Junii, Lectæ Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Senato Terra,
Filza.

731. PETITION presented by FRANCESCO BERNARDO, Knight, to the SENATE.

It was decreed by the Senate, by a very small majority, that he was to renounce the pensions assigned him by the late Kings of France and England,† in recompense for the very heavy expenses incurred by him in negotiating and concluding that most useful peace,‡ which by his act (*per opera mia*) took place between their Majesties, as manifest to the whole world.

Made this renunciation because the State attornies held it was not lawful for a citizen to be pensioned by foreign Princes, though he was at liberty to recover the money expended for the benefit of their Majesties. Was therefore compelled to allow the last ballot to pass, thus renouncing the pensions and remaining creditor of the Crown of England, not only for the costs incurred by him for his Majesty's service, but for the loss of two of his ships, one large and the other small, of which the King made use in the war preceding

* In Mr. Turnbull's Calendars, there are various notices of Francesco Bernardo, the last of which, dated 7th March 1556, records his death from "inward sorrow" at having been reproached with "secretly enjoying pensions out of England."

† The pension received by Bernardo from England is alluded to in Foreign Calendar, date 23rd March 1556, pp. 218-219, as stated in date 9 July 1547, when the State attornies obtained the prohibition here recorded.

‡ The peace between England and France in the year 1546. In State Papers, vol. xi., there are notices of the hand this Venetian nobleman had in the negotiation.

1552.

the peace, detaining them by force, as appears by the letters written to the Signory by the late Secretary Zambon. From this seizure of the two ships the loss incurred was enormous, and as he obtained no compensation, his right to "damages" cannot be disputed, the Republic's subjects not being prohibited from recovering their property, as the Signory favours and assists its subjects so to do; and although he might reasonably have obtained this just credit without any opposition, yet he requests the assistance of the State, and prays the Doge and Senate to grant him licence for one year only to endeavour to obtain some partial compensation for his losses, renouncing entirely his claims on the Crown of France.

[*Italian.*]

July 30?

MS. St. Mark's

Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date of time.

Printed in vol. 4.

pp. 65-73,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli."

732. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF BADAJOS [FRANCESCO NAVARRETE].

Has received the Bishop's letter from Milan, dated 5th July, expressing his grief for the state of the Christian Commonwealth,* and Pole's sorrow is also increased, as he had hoped to console himself with his friend in Rome, instead of which he declares he will not go there, and closes his letter so as to imply that he is on his way to Spain, of which Pole had no suspicion, and was indeed of opinion that to vent his grief for the calamities of the Church, especially now when the Council is interrupted, it would have been very opportune for him to go to Rome, and unbosom his sorrows to the Pope. This he says not to censure the Bishop's resolves, but, as it were, to express his regret for them, and to inquire their cause. Pole thinks he has reason to congratulate the Bishop, because he entirely forgets his own private distresses, for the sake of lamenting solely the general adversity. Had all the personages present at the Council of Trent resembled the Bishop of Badajos, the Church would have been restored to tranquillity. The Bishop desponds; Pole hopes that the noble web of reform already commenced in the Council is neither discontinued (*interruptam*) nor unwrought (*abruptam*), but received into heaven, to be more stoutly and beautifully wove, for the greater comfort of the Bishop and of all men. The tears of mankind will aid this result, as is taught by Scripture; they have been wanting hitherto, though there was no lack of doctrine, canons, ceremonies, nor any other external support. The Bishop will say that even tears were shed, as at any rate the Council assembled, despite all impediments, and lasted many years in the midst of them. Instances the necessity for maintaining hope by Biblical examples; all men were filled with hope when the Lord entered the Holy City riding on an ass.† In this hope Pole is confirmed by reason of the day on which the prorogation of the Council was decreed. It was Good Friday,‡ on which day, unless in cases

* Francesco Navarrete, Bishop of Badajos, had probably quitted Trent immediately after the prorogation of the Council (which he and the other Spanish Bishops opposed), on the 28th April 1552. (See History of the Council of Trent, ed. Amsterdam, 1704, p. 360.)

† Denique cum urbem sanctam ingrederetur assello invecus omniumque oculos in es unum converteret, tanta spe animos omnium repletet.

‡ 14th April 1552.

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of extreme necessity, the College does not negotiate nor form any resolve. When Pole heard this it seemed to him to have before him the dead body of Christ, of which that Council (*ipsum concilium*) is the image, as it represents the whole Church; which Council, though shortly before all the faithful were expecting from it the brightest results with regard to the reformation of the Church, then seemed to him, as it were, scourged with rods and taken dead to the sepulchre; but the speedy return to life of Christ, and the other blessings which immediately followed his death, admonishing Pole to remember them, on the very day when this took place, he is induced to hope the like concerning the Council and the reform. Of this he is convinced by the Bishop's tears, which, together with those of other Bishops who resemble him, are the best foundation of Church reform, the firm corner stone of this celestial structure. The lamentation of the Bishops for the delay signifies that the reform has already commenced, so he again congratulates the Bishop on his tears. Requests him to salute their mutual friend Frago, Pole having done the like in the Bishop's name by the [titular] Bishop of Rochester [Richard Pate] and Priuli, who are both with him.

Bagnarea, July 30, 1552?

[*Latin*, 248 lines.]

Aug. 17.
Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xx. p. 140,
tergo.

733. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL OF TEN.
That the armoury halls of this Council and the jewels of the Sanctuary [in St. Mark's church] be shown to Mr. George Trockmorton, an Englishman.*

Item, to a French gentleman named —, and to a Genoese by name —.

Ayes, 15. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 26.
Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xx. p. 144,
tergo.

734. MOTION made by the CHIEFS (PIETRO LOREDANO and DOMENICO MOROSINI) in the COUNCIL OF TEN, the COLLEGE being present.

The Signory's ambassador [Giacomo Soranzo] resident with the King of England, to notify to Ser Vincenzo Corner, son of the late Ser Marc' Antonio, that within two months he do come into the presence of the Chiefs of this Council; on the expiration of which term, should he not present himself, this Council to decide as it shall think fit; and on his presenting himself be he and Ser Piero Capello charged to make peace.

Ayes, 8 — 8.

Ibid.

735. MOTION made by SER ANTONIO DANDOLO, Chief of the Ten.
A quarrel having taken place between Ser Vincenzo Corner, son of the late Ser Marco Antonio, and Ser Piero Capello, son of Ser

* Mr. Throckmorton's uncle was "chief man about Cardinal Pole." Vannes mentions his arrival at Venice, 23 May 1551, and says he seemed "of a very gentle nature and honest conditions." (See Foreign Calendar, p. 110.)

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Philippo; and as whilst an adjustment was being negotiated Cornaro* went to England without making said peace.

Put to the ballot, that the Republic's Ambassador in England be written to, to intimate to Ser Vincenzo Corner, that within the term of one month after receiving the notice, he do send hither to his brother an ample and sufficient mandate for making peace with the aforesaid Ser Piero Capello and his brothers; all bail (*cautela*) being cancelled. Should they disobey the said order they be confined for five years, the one in Capo d'Istria and the other at Veglia, under the obligation of presenting themselves to the Republic's Governors in those places once every week; they being also liable to a fine of 500 ducats, to be levied from their property, payable to any person or persons who shall capture them beyond the frontiers and deliver them to the Signory's officials; in default to be imprisoned for one year, and not to be released until after payment of said fine.

Ayes (<i>de scontro</i>)	7 — 8	} <i>Pendet.</i>
Noes		
Neutrals	1 — 0	

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31.
Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xx. p. 147.

736. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL of TEN, the COLLEGE being present.

Amendment to the motion made on the 26th instant, by Antonio Dandolo, Chief of the Ten, concerning the quarrel between Ser Vincenzo Corner and Ser Piero Capello.

And in case that the aforesaid Ser Vincenzo Corner should not be in England, the Chiefs of this Council to desire his kinsfolk, to acquaint them with the place of his abode.

Ayes, 13. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

On the 21st of November 1552, Ser Nicolò Corner, son of the late Ser Marco Antonio, having a power (*mandatum*) from his brother Ser Vincenzo, and Ser Pietro and Ser Sylvan Capello, son of Ser Philippo, in the presence of the Chiefs of the Ten made peace and mutually forgave (*remiserunt*) all injuries, according to the decree of the Council.

[*Latin.*]

Sept. 19.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

737. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MAFFEI.

Was greatly comforted by his letter received this morning, and which evinces the same piety and zeal as demonstrated by Maffei in all his other actions. With regard to the advice asked by him of Pole concerning the Pope's holy intention of taking the opinion of the Cardinals,† it indicates great regard for the common weal, and great humility, his having recourse to a judgment so

* The names Cornèr and Cornaro being synonymous are employed indiscriminately in this decree.

† The Pope proposed holding a congregation of Cardinals and Prelates in Rome, to effect there the reform which had not been accomplished at Trent. (See Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.) By this letter, it seems that Cardinal Pole was the mainspring of this project, which limited itself at first to peace between the Emperor and France.

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inferior to his own in this matter, by so much the more as Pole cannot know the particulars of the affairs, and of the persons on whom this resolve in great part depends, namely, the affairs of Germany and the present state of the Emperor, with which Maffei is much better acquainted than Pole; but nevertheless, as Maffei can command him, he will without introduction or ceremony say what he thinks.

The Pope assigns as the chief cause of this proposed resolve, the troubles of Christendom owing to the discord between the Emperor and France, from which may be apprehended a great war, to the destruction of all civil institutions, and to the utmost encouragement of the enemies of the religion both at home and abroad, namely, the schismatics and heretics, and the Infidels, to the perdition of souls. Under these circumstances, his Holiness inquires what he is to do; to which, in the first, place, I would answer that he should do what of his piety he seems inclined spontaneously to do, that is to say, not to remain an idle spectator of this so horrible a tragedy, but use all diligence, and neglect no opportunity for exercising his pastoral office, for the remedy of so many evils which threaten Christ's entire flock, by endeavouring to make peace between these two most powerful Princes. Although they now seem very averse to it, yet ought the Pope to persevere in his endeavours, which, if vain, will at least exempt him from blame before God and man. With regard to the second point, and the means to be used, and the persons to be employed for obtaining this peace; namely, the mission of Nuncios or Legates, or consulting with the secretaries or confidential agents of those Sovereigns. Pole considers it requisite well to ponder the magnitude and importance of the cause, and determine accordingly by whom it could be most suitably treated. As to the cause itself, reviewing it in every light, there is none of greater importance to mankind, so it would appear fitting for the greatest person in the world to be its negotiator.

But before deciding about the person, he thinks it necessary well to consider one matter without which there would be no hope of any one negotiating it advantageously, and that is, the root of this intestine war, which has lasted so many years, and although it has been occasionally stilled for a short time, always broke out again with more violence, which is now greater than ever; and although all remedies have been employed for its total extinction, none have succeeded. This can be attributed solely to the wrath of God, who uses this war as a scourge for our sins, so that it is necessary to destroy the root by appeasing God, making peace first of all with Him; and thus we may subsequently hope for peace between the Sovereigns. The true way to do this, is but to effect what for so many years has been so much desired by all pious men, namely, the Reform, which should his Holiness now choose at any cost effectually to accomplish, as now written by Maffei, he will have both more grace with God, and more credit with man, and on this foundation may hope to raise an edifice no less good than profitable.

Returning to discuss the means and persons whereby to treat this peace, it seems to Pole that the cause being of such very great importance, in order to bring it to a fair conclusion, no less a person

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would be required than the High Pontiff, although to commence the negotiation and prepare the matter it might suffice to employ the medium of ambassadors, as it were to break the ice (*come per rompere il ghiaccio*), so as to prepare the way for his Holiness; who having already despatched Nuncios for this purpose, it would now seem fitting for him to send Legates, as instruments still nearer to his person, they treating in conclusion for a suspension of hostilities and a conference.

To unbosom himself with Maffei about the ministers, as he did with regard to the cause, saying we must make peace with God if we would fain make it with man; so does Pole inform him, with regard to the persons who have to treat it, that in his opinion the most suitable would be those most at peace with God, and therefore in this case he makes no such great difference between a Cardinal or other prelates, or agents of Princes, or other sorts of persons. Indeed should there be found in any corner of the world, in any monastery, wood, or grotto, monks, hermits, or others who could bring witnesses to prove that they had more of the grace of God, or were more at peace with him, Pole would be of opinion that his Holiness should use the instrumentality of such a one, it having been proved of yore that similar persons were excellent mediums for such operations. But amongst the rest, it seems to him one of the scourges of the 16th century, that men of that sort are no longer to be found; so he is of opinion that persons the most resembling this type should be chosen, whether prelates or Cardinals or any other condition of men.

Such is his conclusion touching the ministers to be employed by his Holiness in so great an undertaking, as from their quality the world will form a great opinion, both of the Pope's will and of the success of the business. And in truth it would be necessary to have ministers of such a description, that should they find the Princes stubborn and averse to peace, they might have the ability and power to make it a case of conscience, alarming them by the consideration of the vital interest of all Christendom, which for many centuries has perhaps never been in greater danger of universal ruin through war.

This is all he can write thus in haste, to acquaint Maffei with his opinion before the first consistory, although even had he more time he could say nothing more, nor so well but that it would be better known and said by Maffei, although from modesty he evinces his wish to depend on the judgment of others; and so Pole hopes that the Spirit of God will inspire him with his own, disposing his heart and tongue to say what is most for the honour and service of his divine Majesty, whom he prays in conclusion thus to vouchsafe, and humbly kisses Maffei's hands.

Bagnarea, 19th September 1552.

[Italian.]

Oct. 12.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
Filza no. 19.

738. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR
in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[Italian.]

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Nov. 16.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxviii. p. 80.

739. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at
CONSTANTINOPLE.

Informed by their ambassador in England that the disputes between the two Crowns, owing to the seizure of English vessels by the French, have been adjusted.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxviii. p. 80.

740. The SAME to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Announce the resignation by the Duke of Urbino of the post of governor of the Venetian forces, which the Signory refused to exchange for that of Captain General. Owing to this circumstance many applications will be made for employment in their service. If any candidates notify their wishes to him, he is to forward their proposals.

Ayes, 176. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21.
Senato Mar,
v. xxxii. p. 52,
tergo.

741. The SAME to the SAME.

Are much disturbed by his letters of the 23rd ultimo announcing what was said to him by the Lords of the Council about the cloths which had been cut by the state proveditors.* The like complaint was made to them subsequently by the King's ambassador. That their Lordships may know the truth of this business, and the Signory's disposition towards the English Crown, enclose a "special information" received from their state proveditors, to whom, by Venetian law, this office appertains. Desire him to acquaint their Lordships with its contents, assuring them that, having been approved by the Court of the Forty "*al civil nuovo*," after hearing at great length the arguments on both sides, it was not done for the purpose of casting any slur on English cloths, but on the contrary to preserve their repute as true and just. When they are not deceitful, and when marked with the King's Crown, they will always be received and esteemed at Venice.

To inform their Excellencies that neither by this, nor by any other accident that may occur, will the goodwill and firm friendship maintained by the Republic with the Crown of England, for which they constantly desire all prosperity and grandeur, ever be diminished.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

* "Certain English cloths had been cut in pieces and exposed upon a window openly in the Rialto, declaring them to be false and untrue, and so condemned." (See Foreign Calendar, 1552, Nov. 20, pp. 227, 228.)

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Feb. 10.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxviii. p. 102.

742. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their letters from Spiers mention the intended departure of the Emperor from Thionville for Brussels, there to hold a Diet, and he is said to have ordered his son the Prince to come from Spain into Italy with a good number of Spaniards and a quantity of money to wage war on the French there. His Majesty has also ordered the Spanish and German infantry to remain in garrison in Thionville, and the neighbouring places. The King of England has sent two ambassadors, one to the Emperor and the other to his most Christian Majesty, to make an agreement between them,* the Imperial Electors also exerting themselves with the Emperor for the same purpose; and by letters from Rome dated the 4th instant, the Signory has heard that two Nuncios were to depart in two days on their way to the Emperor and the most Christian King, being sent by the Pope to urge their Majesties to consent to his sending two Cardinal Legates, to negotiate peace between them.

Ayes, 132. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

743. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 10.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

744. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 21.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

745. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

March 27.

Senato Terra,
v. xxxix. p. 10.

746. MOTION made in the SENATE about the claims of Francesco Bernardo for compensation from the Crown of England.

On the 27th June 1552, the Senate conceded license to the nobleman Francesco Bernardo, knight, during the term of one year only, to obtain compensation from the King of England for losses incurred in his service.

Put to the ballot, that the said license conceded to Sir Francesco Bernardo, knight, be prolonged for the next following year.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

* These two ambassadors were Sir Andrew Dudley and Sir Henry Sydney. (See Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 27th December 1552, and January 17-25, 1553, pp. 234, 238, 239.)

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April 15.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

747. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta).
v. lxviii. p. 117,
tergo.

748. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their letters from Rome state that the Pope, continuing to urge the agreement between the Empire and France, has despatched two Cardinals, one to his Imperial Majesty, and the other to France for this purpose; and by letters from England they hear that the King is sending two Ambassadors to Flanders, and two to France, to perform the like office.*

Ayes, 183. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 5.
Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
vol. xxi. p. 18.

749. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That the jewels of St. Mark, and the armoury halls of this Council, be shown to Mr. Thomas Stafford, the nephew of the Right Reverend Cardinal of England.†

Ayes, 13. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

May 9.
Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xxi. p. 18.

750. MOTION made by CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That license be conceded to Mr. Thomas Stafford, an English gentleman, to carry arms, together with his two servants, Juan, a Spaniard, and Iseppo, a Vicentine, both in Venice and other places in the Signory's dominions, for two months.

Ayes,	8	—	9	} <i>Pendet</i> $\frac{3}{4}$.
Noes,	3	—	3	
Neutrals,	2	—	1	

[*Italian.*]

May 20.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta).
v. lxviii. p. 129,
tergo.

751. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Their letters from Brussels, dated the 7th instant, inform them that the Emperor was there, and that the English Ambassadors had arrived, but had not yet had audience of his Imperial Majesty, whose troops were besieging Terouenne, which was held by the French, and the King purposed succouring it. The Marquis Albert of Brandenburg, with a good number of troops near Bamberg, had

* By the Foreign Calendar, p. 260, it is seen that for this mediation, the persons sent by Edward VI. to the Emperor were the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Philip Hoby, and Sir Richard Morysine; and their colleagues at the Court of Henry II. were Dr. Wotton, Sir William Pickering, and Sir Thomas Chaloner.

† The relationship between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Stafford, is also alluded to in a letter from Rome, dated 31st January 1551 (Foreign Calendar, p. 71.) thus, "By a former letter he might perceive in what state Mr. Thomas Stafford, his Lord's nephew, stands with his Grace," etc., etc.

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routed the forces of the Bishops there, taking the city and the castle, and was going towards Nuremberg.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.

752. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Printed in v. iv.

pp. 107, 108,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli."

The Cardinal of Trent, accompanied by the Ambassador despatched to the Pope by the Marquis of Brandenburg, has been with Pole on the Lake of Garda, requesting him to beseech his Holiness's favour for the concession of the See of Magdeburg to the late Bishop's brother. Pole at first refused, but as they insisted, saying they knew how much credit he had with the Pope, showing him also letters of recommendation obtained for this purpose from the Emperor, from the Archbishops of Metz and Treves, and from the Cardinal of Augsburg, they induced him to give the accompanying letter. Praises the candidate, and thinks his election at the present moment would be beneficial, there being a great scarcity, especially in those parts, of Bishops who can and will defend the interests of the Church.

From the monastery of Maguzzano, 8th June 1553.

[*Latin*, 41 lines.]

June 12.

753. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Senato Mar,

v. xxxii. p. 84.

Motion made in the Senate.

Their noble Giacomo Soranzo, knight, has now resided for two years with the King of England, and by his letters earnestly requests the election of his successor, that the Ambassador elect may go to his destination. The grant of this just demand being due to the diligent and honourable service rendered by Soranzo—

Put to the ballot, that another nobleman be elected as successor of the aforesaid Ser Giacomo, and with the same terms as stipulated by his appointment; to be eligible from any place and office, and prohibited to refuse under all the penalties contained in the Act of 1536; and that four months' salary be given him in advance; his agents at Venice to receive as usual from the cashier of the Council of Ten, 150 golden ducats monthly, so that the Signory may thus not incur any loss by the rate of exchange; and the Ambassador-elect to depart within the period assigned by the last Act passed in the Senate and the Grand Council with regard to the election of Ambassadors, and with such commission as shall seem fit to this Council.

Ayes, 179. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

1552, X Novembris, lecta Collegio.

1553, die 9 Junij, lecta Collegio.

1553, die 22 Junij, electus Ser. Federicus
Baduario Ser Aloysij.

[*Italian.*]

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July 5.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date in MS.

Printed in v. iv.

pp. 90-91,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

dated Maguz-

zano, 5 July

1553.

754. CARDINAL POLE to MARC' ANTONIO TREVISAN, DOGE OF VENICE.*

Letter of congratulation on his election. Alludes to his own residence at the University of Padua in the lifetime of the Doge's father, and to his having been paternally received in the Venetian dominions. Prays for the Republic's welfare as much as he does for that of his own country.

From the monastery of Maguzzano, in the Brescian territory, 5th July 1553.

[*Latin*, 43 lines.]

July 6.

Lettere del Col-

legio (Secreta),

File no. 19.

755. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian*.]

July 10.

Parti Comuni,

Consiglio X.,

v. xxi. p. 30,

tergo.

756. MOTION made by the CHIEFS in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That to the ambassador of the King of England, in addition to the 15 ordinary licenses for arms which he now has, there be granted ten other licenses, as to the ambassadors of the other crowned heads; he notifying their names at the office, and making oath that they reside in his house and at his cost.

Ayes	- 4	} <i>Captum de non.</i>
Noes	- 10	
Neutrals	- 2	

[*Italian*.]

July 15.

Lettere del Col-

legio (Secreta),

File no. 19.

757. The SAME to the SAME.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

[*Italian*.]

July 24.

Parti Comuni,

Consiglio X.,

v. xxi. p. 33.

758. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Chiefs repeat the motion made by them on the 10th instant (and which was negatived), for ten arms-licenses, besides the 15, to be conceded to the Magnifico the English Ambassador.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0. $\frac{2}{3}$.

[*Latin*.]

July 25.

Lettere del Col-

legio (Secreta),

File no. 19.

759. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME.

A private courier being sent to Rome this evening, and they having this day, by letters from their Ambassador in England, dated

* In the manuscript, this letter is headed "Laurentio Priulo Ducis Venetiarum," but the contents of the letter show clearly that it was addressed to Marc' Antonio Trevisan, whose election took place on the 4th June 1553, which date confirms the printed date, but the heading of the printed letter does not assign any name to the Doge to whom it was addressed.

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the 7th instant, heard of the death of the most Serene King, which took place in the preceding night about three hours before daybreak, they have thought it opportune to send him this intelligence that, should he thus think fit, he may impart it to his Holiness.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxviii. p. 149.

760. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The King of England has died; he was a youth from 15 to 16 years of age, son-in-law of the most Christian King, whose daughter, now in her tenth year, he had promised to marry. So he died without heirs, and the claimants for the crown are two women (*doe done*), who have [each] their partisans.

Ayes, 174. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

761. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [ALESSANDRO] FARNESE.

His love for Cardinal Farnese and the whole of his most illustrious family, moves him to condole with him on the death of his very dear brother, Duke Horatio.* The wound being so fresh and great, the office is difficult to perform, and by so much the more with the Cardinal as the affection between him and the Duke exceeded that of the other brothers. Exhorts the Cardinal to have recourse to the true medicine, namely, the firm faith that everything is regulated by Divine Providence. The King, being so magnanimous and generous as he has shown himself hitherto by his protection of the Farnese interests, and the Duke having been killed in his Majesty's service, will by so much the more console the Cardinal and his family.

[From Maguzzano, on the Lake of Garda, 6th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

762. The SAME to CARDINAL ST. ANGELO [RANUCCIO FARNESE].

Condoles with him on the death of his brother, Duke Horatio.

[From Maguzzano on the Lake of Garda, 6th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

763. The SAME to the MASTER of the SACRED PALACE.†

Thanks him for the zeal with which he defended Pole's character. The Master had written to him that on the day after Pole's con-

* Horatio Farnese, Duke of Castro, being in the service of France, was killed when defending the Castle of Hesdin on the 16th July 1553. (See Litta, Genealogies, and Pallavicino, History of the Council of Trent, vol. iii. p. 286.)

† The Latin title is "Magister sacri palatii apostolici." The person elected to this post was necessarily a Dominican, and officially the Pope's theologian. In September 1553, this post was held by Girolamo Muzzarelli, a Bolognese nobleman, on whom Julius III. conferred it in the year 1550; and at the close of 1553, he resigned it on being made Bishop of Conza. Muzzarelli had distinguished himself at the Council of Trent, where he probably formed a friendship with Cardinal Pole, and he died at Palermo in 1561. (See Dizionario di Erudizione Storica Ecclesiastica, di Gaetano Moroni, vol. xli. pp. 200-210, ed. Venezia, 1846.)

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Printed in v. iv. pp. 91-106.
 "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli."

ference at St. Paul's with the Cardinal of Naples,* he was invited by that Cardinal to dinner, together with two other learned men of his Order [Dominicans], and that after dinner the Cardinal narrated to them his conversation with Pole, and the regret he felt at the malignant insinuations whereby it had been sought to disturb the friendly intercourse existing between them; that he was ready to give Pole himself any mark of his esteem and love; that the Master was also to write to Pole in his name how much the interview had pleased him, and to request he would send him the Books which he addressed heretofore to the King of England.† Of these the Cardinal of Naples had seen a part when the work was not yet completed, and approved it highly, so that by so much the more did he wish to see it in its finished state, in order to have a greater opportunity for showing his love and esteem for the author. Now the Father-Master had already heard from Pole's own mouth how much the interview with the Cardinal of Naples had gratified him, there came to pass what had been predicted by their mutual friends: the conference removed all false suspicions, and they will be linked by a stronger tie of affection. Accustomed as Pole is, religiously to cultivate all his friends, he is most especially mindful of those with whom he has been linked, not by country and kindred, but by Divine Providence and the study of religion, of whom (when despoiled of those acquired through nature and birth-place) God gave him many, and amongst them, for age and rank (*tum vetustate ipsâ, tum dignitate*), the Cardinal of Naples was preeminent; and that he should be torn from him by the artifices of Satan, never having lost any of those whom God had given him, was a blow that Pole could not but lament bitterly. He therefore by so much the more rejoiced at the Master's colloquy with the Cardinal of Naples, as it proved that God, who had bound the friendship between him and Pole, chose in like manner to restore it.

With regard to the edition of Pole's "Books" (*illorum librorum*) demanded by the Cardinal of Naples, and for the delay in the publication of which, as also of his other works (*de cæteris meis scriptis*), the Master so vehemently reproves Pole because he has so long suppressed and hidden the talent given him by God for his own use and that of others, he will not answer the Master, as he does others, by saying that he does not acknowledge his writings to contain such an amount of talent as to render so great an increase of their circulation desirable, but he will trust neither to his own judgment nor to the Master's in this matter; and whether anything should be edited in full (*an vero aliquid omnino edendum sit*), and at what time, if found to be of any probable use, this he leaves to the decision of him to whom God has given the right and power to decide about all matters relating to the benefit of the universal Church. Is aware that in this he pursues a very different course to that of other writers, although he does not consider himself an

* Gianpietro Caraffa became Archbishop of Naples in the year 1549. (See Cardella, v. iv. pp. 166, 167.)

† The first four books "De Unitate et Primatu Ecclesiæ." (See note to letter dated February 1548.)

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author, having certainly never written anything with the intention of publishing it,* as he sees that when printing anything they generally profess to do so by the advice of their friends, a motive which has never seemed just to him even should the work be very much read; nor is it more justifiable than if a man gifted with eloquence were, on the advice of his friends, to call the public to the platform to harangue them about his private affairs,† or than if an able juris-consult were to seat himself on the bench (*in tribunal ascenderet*) to teach the public law, because his friends persuaded him to do so. Does not see any difference between publishing a work and haranguing the people in public, or publicly passing sentence, if the author disputes contested matters and decides what should be thought about them.

That which it is not lawful to do by word of mouth Pole has never allowed himself to do with regard to anything written by him, and especially in the matter of an apology ‡ written by him in defence of himself. Cardinal Caraffa, with great friendship, dissuaded him from publishing it, whilst others advised the contrary, in accordance apparently with Scripture, where it is written, "Maledictus homo qui negligit famam suam;" but, on the other hand, self-defence might be, or imply, accusation of his neighbour; so Pole had recourse to the Pope, laying before him his doubts, and his Holiness, like the Cardinal of Naples, counselled him to publish nothing in defence of himself (*ne quid publice mei defendendi causâ scriberem*), the Pope saying that he exhorted him to abstain from writing an apology, not for the sake of Pole's honour, which was well able to defend itself, but for the honour of the order of Cardinals and their College, which might incur some mark of infamy were it but to transpire that such strife prevailed there as to compel him, especially from such a cause, to condescend to an apology; and the Pope ended, not only by exhorting Pole, but by requesting him utterly to renounce this mode of defence. He was thus reduced to silence, and deprived himself of an infallible weapon for refuting the calumnies with which he had been assailed. Viewing matters in their temporal light, he ought to have made himself heard, but he had more at heart the spiritual interests of the Church than those of himself individually. His silence, therefore, was not induced by the dictates of human prudence. Cardinal Caraffa remarked to him that, however just his defence, it must convict him of having been suspected of crime. This would imply that he was silent from self-interest;

* Qui si quid scripsi, nunquam certe eo animo scripsi, ut ederem.

† Ut privato nomine populum ad concionem vocaret, atque e suggestu verba faceret.

‡ The "apology" here alluded to must not be confounded with the "*Apologia Reginaldi Poli ad Carolum V. Cæsarem*." The apology which Cardinal Pole suppressed, at the instigation of Pope Julius III. and Cardinal Caraffa, had for object to confute the calumnies devised to prevent his election at the time of the conclave in 1549-1550. They are touched upon in his letter to the Bishop of Badajoz, dated 17th June 1550. Amongst the accusations brought against him by his competitors for the Papedom, were the following:—During his Legation at Viterbo, he caused but few people to be put to death; he entertained heretical opinions; and he had a natural daughter in a convent at Rome. The reply to these charges may be read in Pole's *Life* by Beccatello (vol. v. *Epistolarum*, etc., pp. 371, 372). These libels had tempted him for a moment to think of swerving from his general rule, but the aberration was momentary and did not take effect.

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but he could use so many arguments in favour of his innocence that his judges themselves would perhaps feel ashamed of having compelled him to defend himself.

Is it to be supposed that Pole's manifestations of piety and obedience towards the Church, especially as that Church is Roman, can need defence in Rome against suspicions of impiety and apostasy? Should he not appear Catholic to others, to that Church he assuredly gave so many hostages of faith and obedience, that if those who preside over decisions about religion at Rome distrust them, it would be no less odious and ungrateful before God and man than if Pole himself were to fail giving constant thanks for having been enabled thus to do. No better security could be given by God to prove Pole's faith and obedience to the Roman Church than by his causing him to sacrifice everything to its honour; nor was the supreme testimony of the blood of martyrs wanting; what blood did he not shed for his faith and obedience to the Roman Church? The lives of the many victims slaughtered for this cause by the rabid enemy of the Roman Church were far dearer to Pole than his own blood; and if he did not shed it, he shunned no danger which could enable him to demonstrate his obedience and faith, as exemplified by his performance of the various missions assigned him by the Pope.

On a certain occasion Paul III., having refused him audience, and even turning aside, explained the cause by telling the bystanders that on that day he had received such grievous news of Pole's family that he had not the heart to look him in the face, and by no means could he speak to him. From that time forth Pole's adversities have augmented, and always from the same cause, and in like manner as he has hitherto borne these marks (*stigmata*) of his obedience, so will he continue to bear them; and should anyone hear that the Roman Church is so forgetful of all these things, and so averse to bear in mind so many wounds inflicted on him for his defence of its honour, as not only to feel no pity, but to allow him to be branded in its own presence with fresh marks of infamy such as had never been inflicted on him by any enemy, could it perchance ever be apprehended that whilst with just reasons and sure arguments he dispelled every unjust suspicion, his defence could brand him with a mark of infamy, rather than those who, after so many testimonies from God of his fidelity and obedience, should allow them to be impugned? And indeed, could they, by reason of their not having defended him ever defend themselves against the charge of ingratitude? It is true that attempts were made to render suspected those two luminaries of the Church, the Cardinals [Gasparo] Contarini and Morone, and finally Pole himself, but the attacks recoiled upon their authors.

In conclusion, if Pole individually abstained from defending himself, it was not from fear of injuring his character, but solely to obey the Pope. Some persons will perhaps have accused Pole of giving too easy access and of having been too kind (*nimis benignum*) to persons of suspected faith in matters of religion, but he believes that the Master of the Sacred Palace will approve of this conduct, which is taught by St. Paul. Concerning the books men-

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tioned by the Cardinal of Naples, Pole will publish them, should it seem fit to the Pope; and by so much the more willingly as in a proem (*quasi proemii loco*) he answers those who accuse him of imprudence for having assumed the task of writing at such a time to a King who would not derive any advantage from it, Pole having, moreover, written with so much vehemence. In this proem he refutes the charge.

Again assures the Master of the pleasure caused him by being reconciled to the Cardinal of Naples, as it is very advantageous for persons of the same order to be true friends, and that the fact should be generally known.

From the Monastery of Maguzzano, 6th August 1553.

[*Latin*, 458 lines.]

Aug. 7.

764. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The news of the succession of the Princess Mary to the kingdom of England on the death of her brother, which might reasonably have been doubted on account of the first advices, being now confirmed through several channels, I cannot delay congratulating your Holiness until the receipt of further intelligence, the nature of the event appearing to me such that since many years nothing has occurred in Christendom on which one could more reasonably congratulate any Christian mind, and especially that of your Holiness, this being a manifest victory of God over the long cogitated malice of man, corroborated by such great forces and means for the attainment of his perverse ends. And God of his goodness, to render his proceeding (*operation*) more illustrious, has chosen to annihilate in one moment all these long cherished projects by means of a woman, who for so many years has suffered contrary to all justice, being in a state of oppression shortly before this took place, and who is now victorious and called to the throne, thus affording reasonable hopes that, together with her, there will be called to reign in that island, justice, piety, and the true religion, which have hitherto been utterly crushed, and that the kingdom will return to its obedience, in like manner as its alienation was the commencement and cause of its utter ruin. And the Almighty having willed that this should take place in your Holiness's time, and not previously, although often attempted by your predecessor of blessed memory, by so much the more ought I to congratulate you, as I now do with my whole heart, praying God that, having caused you to witness the end of this holy work, you may also likewise see the fruits which may be hoped for, by using such means as Divine Providence has placed in your hands to attain this end. And as I think it might perhaps not be unacceptable (*discreto*) to your Holiness, as I am of the country and heretofore negotiated this matter, to hear my feeble opinion, and being unable at present to deliver it in person, I have sent to your feet, together with this letter, my Abbot (*l'Abbate mio*) of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], who is acquainted with what little I could tell you were I on the spot, and to whom I beseech your Holiness to give gracious audience, and such credence as you would to myself; and with all due reverence,

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kissing your most holy feet, I pray the Divine clemency to vouchsafe long to preserve you for the benefit of your Church.

From Maguzzano, on the Lake of Garda, 7th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

765. CARDINAL POLE to the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR [FRANCESCO DE?] VARGAS [in Venice?].

Announces the accession of Queen Mary, being certain that the piety of Vargas will cause him to rejoice at the event.

[Maguzzano, 10th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

766. CARDINAL POLE to the QUEEN of ENGLAND.

Blesses the hand of God, that "right hand of the Lord," not only for having placed her Highness on that high throne and put her in possession of the kingdom which belonged to her since many years—all good persons desiring the event and asking it of the Divine goodness in their prayers—but also for bringing the thing to pass in such a manner that not only the effect itself, but yet more the mode of producing it, heartily rejoices all her true servants, and above all (as Pole knows for certain her own pious disposition) from its having happened without bloodshed, which might with reason have been feared, considering the malignant devices of her adversaries, backed by no small force, employed by them to deprive her of her just succession, and the long period conceded them by God, for the yet greater manifestation of his Divine providence, at the moment when they thought already to have accomplished their iniquitous design, which was instantaneously frustrated, without the aid of any other forces or resistance save that which the Spirit of God roused in the hearts of men, converting those who, having previously been utterly given to the cause of human malice, now all devoted themselves to the honour and service of God and of her Highness, and to the benefit of the whole kingdom.

Should any one marvel and inquire how against such great malice and power her Majesty, without any external forces, and not many soldiers with the heart to declare themselves for her, could have recovered her crown—should any one ask in surprise, "*quomodo factum est istud?*"—the fact itself will reply, "*Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corde hominum,*" and willed by these means to give her the kingdom, and by this very notable example to make it manifest, not only to her own people but to all those of the rest of Christendom, and to the Infidels likewise, "*quod non sit consilium, non sit prudentia, neque fortitudo contra Dominum, et quod excelsus Dominus dominetur in regno hominum, et cui voluerit et quando voluerit dabit illud.*" If ever the conviction that Divine providence governs human affairs, as principal foundation of our faith, required to be introduced and confirmed in the Queen's kingdom by some evident proof, this was above all necessary at the present time, when, through the authority exercised there since so many years by the wicked, it was become so weakened in the hearts

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CARDINAL POLE^{to} of men, most especially of those who considered themselves more sage and prudent than others, that it seemed quite extinguished. It having therefore pleased the Divine goodness to show its power by evident signs, through her Highness's exaltation at the time when her enemies, and many others likewise, believed her to be completely crushed, all pious souls rejoice at this extremely.

QUEEN MARY
(13th August).

Is certain that her Majesty rejoices more at the proof thus afforded than at the royal crown itself; and if ever woman had merciful grace (*gratia*) for which to magnify and praise God in the words of his blessed mother, whose name the Queen bears—used in testimony of the joy felt by her at the Divine providence in her own favour and salvation and that of the human race, when, replete with the Holy Spirit, she sang, saying, "*Magnificat anima mea Dominum*,"—the Queen herself has more cause than any one to sing likewise the sequel of that canticle, feeling within herself—what everybody perceives—that the goodness of God *resperit humilitatem ancillae suae, fecit potentiam in brachio suo*, and at once, *deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles*.

Hopes this effect of the Almighty's providence with regard to her Majesty will become daily more manifest by her [form of?] government, with such increase of joy and contentment as desired, to the honour and praise of his Divine Majesty, for whose Church, and for the sake of the Queen herself, Pole is bound to warn her of one single thing at this commencement of her reign, which is, that having received such especial favour from the Divine goodness she be pleased well to consider from what root the great disorders in matters relating to justice and the true religion proceeded; the which disorders in England have for many years been seen to increase daily, greatly to the ruin both of private and public interests.

By doing so, her Majesty will perceive that the beginning and cause of all the evil, commenced at the time when the perpetual adversary of the human race placed in the heart of the King her father the perverse desire to make the divorce from the blessed Queen her mother. To this great injustice towards God, towards her and Queen Mary, and towards himself at the same time (*alla quale grande ingiustizia verso Dio, verso lei et voi et se stesso insieme—atque illi magne in Deum, in ipsum, in Te, in se ipsum injurie, majus additum est scelus, etc.*), he added another much greater, that of divorcing himself from Queen Mary's spiritual mother, and from all faithful Christians, that is to say, from the Holy Catholic Church, from which he departed by departing from the obedience of the Apostolic See. From this iniquitous and impious seed there subsequently sprang up those pestiferous fruits which have so corrupted every part of the kingdom, that since many years scarce any vestige has been seen either of justice or religion, as if both one and the other had been banished the realm when reverence and obedience towards the Church were abolished; and I venture to make this prophecy, that they will never return, be the government whatever it may, until this divine obedience be again received into the mind of the ruler (*di chi regge*).

This the Queen may believe on the authority of one who is her servant, and who, of all those yet living, has suffered the most both

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CARDINAL POLE
to
QUEEN MARY
(13th August).

on this account and for the Queen's cause, never neglecting any opportunity for defending it, whenever it seemed possible to find any remedy whereby to extricate her from her grievous troubles. If his diligence and toil failed to obtain the fruit always most earnestly desired by him, he having several times risked his life for it, he now perceives the reason, and is much more comforted than if he himself had been the means of assisting her. Acknowledges in this instance the manifest compassion demonstrated towards her by the Almighty, who has not chosen any other hand to be interposed, neither that of the Emperor, who always showed himself anxious in this matter, nor of the Pope, who never failed aiding it, he likewise being prepared to give the Queen all favour and succour. Pole's intercession with both one and the other was assiduous, he having always urged this most pious cause, for which the goodness of God had determined to give the Queen assistance, at the time appointed by Him, with his own hand, and in the meanwhile to treat her in the way He is wont always to adopt with his most dear and chosen children, placing and educating her in every sort of adversity and tribulation, that the flower of his grace might strike deeper root, so as to blossom better, and then, when it should please Him to give her prosperity, produce more noble fruits, which the hope of all good men now expects from her, and that of Pole above all others, as he has had a better opportunity of knowing from her infancy (*fanciullezza*) the virtues (*gratie*) with which the graciousness of God has endowed her.

This renders him also the more anxious to warn her Highness of this great and important point of, obedience to the Church (*della obediencia della Chiesa*), knowing that he is now so much the more bound to desire and seek to learn how her mind is inclined and disposed towards this matter; for being at a distance of 300 miles from Rome, in a monastery—whither he betook himself some days ago to be able with more quiet to pray God for her Majesty and the whole kingdom—immediately on hearing the auspicious news of her accession, he was informed by the Pope and Cardinals that he had been elected Legate from the Apostolic See to her Majesty, and to both those two great Princes, the Emperor and the King of France, to congratulate her on the victory of God in this cause, which is so thoroughly his own.

Before doing anything further, knowing how important it is, he has thought it well as aforesaid to endeavour to learn in what way God now moves the mind of her Majesty (*in qual modo Idio mova hora la mente di Va. Mta.*) For this purpose he sends the present messenger [Henry Penning]* with this letter, not indeed from any doubt of her Highness's goodwill (*buona mente*), having always known her gratitude towards God, and the internal affection of her heart for obedience to the Divine laws and institutions, including the

* The name Henry Penning is given by Pallavicino in his History of the Council of Trent, vol. iii. p. 289. In Dr. Hook's Life of Pole, p. 220, it is stated that Penning arrived in London with Commendone on the 8th August, but as this letter was written on the 13th August, the supposed date of his arrival is a mistake, and Pallavicino (p. 289) says distinctly that the mission of Commendone preceded that of Penning, nor were they in London together.

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CARDINAL POLE obedience of the Apostolic See (*la obediencia della Sede Apostolica*),
 to which her Highness, above all others, is bound to favour, as for
 QUEEN MARY no other cause did the King her father renounce it than because the
 (13th August). Roman Pontiff persevered in favouring her cause, and would never
 consent to his strange and iniquitous desire; but as this great
 change was made many years ago, and as such great malice has
 been used to alienate the minds of the people from this obedience
 and extinguish it completely, Pole has therefore thought fit to
 endeavour in the first place thus to hear from her the time and
 mode (*il tempo et l'ordine*) which she would wish him to observe
 (*che Io tenghi*) in performing the embassy to her from the Vicar
 of the Lord, for her own comfort and the benefit of the realm, the
 quiet and happiness of which have been crushed (*oppressa*) more
 and more, hourly, ever since the government commenced opposing
 and depressing this holy obedience.

Has therefore determined to await her Highness's reply, and
 prays God that it may be in conformity with his hope and expecta-
 tion, and such as all pious persons have conceived from the grace
 of his Divine Majesty vouchsafed to her, to the confirmation and
 increase of the joy felt universally at her exaltation. Should her
 Majesty grant him gracious audience, he hopes by the grace of God
 to convince her (*farle conoscere*) that in this point of obedience to
 the Church (*la obediencia della Chiesa*) consists the establishment of
 her crown and the entire welfare of her kingdom; and praying the
 Almighty of his infinite mercy to uphold and prosper her royal state
 with that same hand which placed her in it, he ends his letter
 beseeching her Highness to accept it cordially, as God has always
 prompted him to act (as he is certain she knows) for her honour
 and felicity.

From Maguzzano, 13th of August 1553.

[*Italian, "translated from the English."*]*

Aug. 13.

MS. St. Mark's
 Library,
 Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

767. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Had despatched the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia] to
 congratulate the Pope on this auspicious and truly miraculous event
 in England, and to mention what little occurred to him on the
 subject. When near Bologna the Abbot met the Papal messenger
 with the briefs and Pole's legatine commission. Yesterday the Abbot
 returned with the messenger, who rejoiced the Cardinal by his
 account of the Pope's ardour, from which he anticipates that this
 good beginning will produce an equally good result. As his Holi-
 ness has authorised him to proceed in this matter as he deems most
 expedient, thinks fit, before moving further, to send a messenger
 express to Flanders, there to apply to the Cardinal Legate,†
 hoping thus to obtain from him, as also from natives of England,
 some additional intelligence whereby to regulate his negotiations;

* The foregoing letter is diffuse, as most documents of the period are, but it contains something more than "*the usual commonplaces*" (see Hook, p. 219). I have given it in full, because the Italian translation is more complete than the Latin version in Quirini, iv. pp. 428 and 116-119.

† Gieronimo Daudino, Bishop of Imola, Legate at Brussels.

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and that, in the meanwhile, the Bishop of Worcester (*Mons. di Vigornionsi (sic)**) should be sent to the Imperial Court to perform such offices with his Majesty as the Legate shall think desirable according to the advices received through Pole's messenger in the first place, and from such news as shall be heard from day to day. Sends his Abbot [of San Saluto] to give the Pope particular account of his proceedings, referring the whole to his Holiness's most prudent judgment, being always most ready to obey and serve him with his life blood; and with all due reverence kissing his most holy feet, he prays the Almighty to vouchsafe this great favour to his pontificate, to restore England to the union and obedience of his Church, as it may be hoped of his goodness He will do.

From Maguzzano, 13th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

768. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF IMOLA [GIERONIMO DANDINO], Legate [at Brussels].

The Pope having elected Pole Legate for the affairs of England, as the Cardinal of Imola will perceive by the accompanying copy of a brief from Rome, he thinks fit, before moving further, to send the present messenger to Flanders to obtain such more precise information as seems necessary in this matter, to avoid the risk of doing what might prove undignified and unbecoming the authority of his Holiness and the Apostolic See. Has charged him to apply in the first place to the Legate whom he (Pole) requests to give him such intelligence as shall have been received through the Imperial Court. The messenger will acquaint him with such intelligence as has been obtained through other channels; and, if necessary, will then go as far as England. Has also thought it well for the Bishop of Worcester (*Vigorniensis*) [Richard Pate] to proceed to the Emperor's court, as the Legate will hear from the bearer of the present letter. Will send by the Bishop copies of the briefs, and write also to the Emperor, hoping in all matters to receive every possible information from the Legate about this business, concerning entirely the honour of God and the benefit of his Church, which they may hope will be attained, having in truth such great and miraculous security from his divine hand. Thanks the Legate greatly for the letter written by him to the Cardinal of Trent for communication to him (Pole) who for the rest refers himself to the statement of the messenger [Henry Penning?].

[From Maguzzano?] 13th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date in MS.

769. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL SANTA CROCE [MARCELLO CERVINI].*

Considering that the superintendence (*la cura*) of the affairs of England is common to himself and Cardinal Santa Croce, and, as

* Richard Pate, Bishop designate of Worcester. The Pope offered Cardinal Pole to appoint Richard Pate as nuncio, to be employed as the Legate should think fit. See Quirini, v. iv. p. 110.)

† See Cardella, vol. iv. p. 226.

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usual, relying much on his prudence and piety, Pole has desired his Abbot [of San Saluto], the bearer of the present letter, to acquaint him with the cause of his going to Rome, and to request Santa Croce to give the Abbot and himself such suggestions as he shall think opportune and expedient for the service of God in this matter, which is of such great importance that it must make all the faithful (as it certainly will Cardinal Santa Croce) heartily pray for the Divine goodness to grant the desired result, which may be anticipated from so good and auspicious a commencement; and for the rest he refers himself to the Abbot's statement.

[From Maguzzano, 13th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxviii. p. 152.

770. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The letters from England, down to the 24th ult., announce the proclamation as Queen, of the Lady Mary, sister of the late King, and the Emperor's kinswoman. She was expected in London. The Signory's letters from Rome purport that the Pope has revoked the recall of his two Legates, who are now to remain with the Emperor and the King of France.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

771. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

After the great and constant affliction endured for many years by the kingdom of England solely on account of impious and iniquitous rulers, it has pleased the Divine mercy to comfort the realm by giving it this governess, to whom the crown by right belongs, and which by reason of her goodness was desired for her by all good persons; and that this should come to pass by means of the Emperor's direction.* It therefore seems meet to Pole,—for himself and all other Englishmen (*tutti noi di quel regno*) to return especial and infinite thanks to his Imperial Majesty,—to whom, after God, all the praise and honour of this achievement (*fatto*) should be given; beseeching the Divine goodness, with regard to what remains for the completion of this holy work, to vouchsafe to use the same medium (*mezo*) used by him for giving it so auspicious a commencement. Of all the things which remain to be done to this end; none is of greater importance than the restoring England to the obedience of the Apostolic See (*che il restituire quel regno all' obediencia della Sede Apostolica*). Considers it certain that the Emperor, of his great piety, does not require to be stimulated by others but is disposed spontaneously to seek this restoration according to opportunity. Nevertheless, as the goodness of God has given this great pledge of his mercy, granting to England one sole governess (*governatrice*), more inclined and able than any other

* Per mezzo dello indrizo di V. Mta.

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person to bring this holy work to perfection, with the aid and counsel of his Imperial Majesty, and it having pleased the Pope and the Apostolic See to appoint him (Pole) Legate to treat this business with his Majesty and such other princes, and private persons as shall seem expedient, he thinks he cannot too speedily commence proposing this cause to the Emperor, whom it chiefly befits by reason of his supreme grade above all princes, and for so many other self-evident reasons unnecessary to mention. His Majesty both heretofore and at present has obtained many and great victories; but in Pole's opinion he has had none comparable to this one, and from which he may hope for greater and more efficacious (*più potente*) fruit, to the honour of the Divine Majesty and of himself, and to the eternal benefit of the Church, and of England. And as it has pleased the goodness of God, after so many affronts (*dispiaceri*) received by his Imperial Majesty owing to the perverse government of the realm of England, now deservedly to comfort him in the matters relating to its temporal jurisdiction, it may be expected of his goodness that the first partakers of this consolation will be those who were most afflicted, and principally the Apostolic See, which, for defending the just cause of his Majesty's lineage (*per defendere la giustizia del sangue di vostra Maestà*), lost its authority in that kingdom. Although the recovery thereof does not seem easy, considering the humours of the population (*havendo rispetto agli humori degli huomini*), and past events; yet through that blessed hand which gave this first great commencement of good government, and of the kingdom's felicity, its continuance also may be expected, when coupled with this second boon, without which the consolation derived from the first will be of short duration. Hopes that, as the Legates of the Apostolic See were excluded from that kingdom for favouring the rights of those so near akin to his Majesty, so, as God now gives compensation, he (the Emperor) will also grant him (Pole) this honour of opening the road for their return, to the advantage of the realm and to the joy of the whole Church, by reason of the great benefit which from this example may be anticipated in other kingdoms and provinces. This firm hope has induced Pole to perform this office by letter with the Emperor, whose victorious hands will, he expects, prepare the way for him, to introduce the spiritual authority into England, in like manner as God enabled his Majesty, in the person of his cousin the most Serene Queen Mary, to introduce the temporal authority there. The reasons which in a worldly sense (*humanamente*) cause Pole to hope for a fair and speedy result in this matter shall be told the Emperor at their meeting, which he hopes will take place speedily. In the meanwhile, congratulating the Emperor with his whole heart on this miraculous victory, he kisses his hands, constantly praying his Divine Majesty to vouchsafe to preserve him, for the benefit and universal consolation of all Christendom.

In the monastery of Maguzzano, 20th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

1553.

Aug. 20?

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date of time
or place.*

772. "INFORMATION" for the EMPEROR given by CARDINAL POLE to his SECRETARY FIORDIBELLO.

When his Holiness heard of the victory which the Lord God of his mercy gave the most Serene Queen, his Majesty's cousin, not only without any opposition, but moreover placing her enemies and rebels in her hands,—hoping that with God's assistance the kingdom of England might be re-united to the Church, and brought to the obedience of the Apostolic See (*che quel regno se habbia da ridurre, con lo aiuto di Dio, alla unione della Chiesa et alla obediencia della Sede Apostolica*), through the authority of the Emperor,—he elected his (the Secretary's) master the Right Reverend Cardinal Pole as Legate, to treat this holy business with his Majesty and the Queen, and with other princes the most suited to the matter (*et altri principi con chi fusse più opportuno*) and being on the eve of departure, his Right Reverend Lordship has chosen him to come beforehand to his Majesty.

In the first place he has charged him to congratulate the Emperor on so auspicious an event, then to thank the Emperor for his counsel, management, and favour.

Cardinal Pole was on the point of departure to perform this office of congratulation with his Majesty by word of mouth, to thank him in the name of all pious inhabitants in England, and to execute his Holiness's commission.

Should his Majesty say that it is not opportune to treat this matter now, as the affairs of that kingdom are not yet well established, and that it is therefore not expedient, [he is to be told] that Cardinal Pole himself likewise considered this, and moreover dropped a hint about it to the Pope, notwithstanding which, he is convinced that this delay would not only, not profit, but would injure the cause; and the reason is, that it is customary in England, in the first Parliament and convocation of the three estates, to propose the matters relating to the reordination of the kingdom, all persons who consider themselves aggrieved then stating their complaints; and the affairs of the religion and the union of the kingdom [with the Apostolic See?], which is the most important and necessary, not merely for the salvation of souls, but also for the quiet of the people and the stability of the realm, would be irreparably prejudiced if at the present moment, when persons of every grade are striving which shall evince the greatest obedience to the Queen, the opportunity should be lost for bringing back (*redure*) the realm to the union of the Church and to the obedience of the Apostolic See, without which the other matters concerning the religion cannot be established. As God therefore has sent this opportunity, it should be seized.

Should the Emperor allege the example of Germany, or, even, without alleging it, say that it might appear to some persons, or that some persons might think it difficult, from the example of the Germans; to reply that the affairs of Germany and of England are different, as in Germany the thing (*la cosa*) is popular, which excuse has

* The date may be conjectured by that of the letters addressed to the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras.

1553.

been occasionally made by some of the German Princes, whereas in England, by the rising in the time of the late King, it has been seen that the people were well disposed towards the religion, and wished things to return to their former state, as they demanded to live in that faith which her father King Henry had conceded them, and which he ordered to be observed, with regard to the mass and the other sacraments of the Church.

In the next place, what greater sign of their goodwill could be desired than to see with what universal readiness and joy they hailed the Princess Mary for their Queen?—especially the Londoners, from whom this was the less to be expected, as they had always been considered much more opposed to the religion than any others (*che alcun altro*), they knowing and being very well aware of the sincere and Catholic mind of her Majesty, and of the faith which she has always professed and professes. So as to the dogmas (*quanto a id ogni—sic*), it seems there would be no such great difficulty; and even with regard to the schism, and the return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, the people at that same time of the insurrection showed their goodwill, when amongst the other articles they demanded that his [Fiordibello's] master (although he had never been in that part of the country, and they had no particular knowledge of his Right Reverend Lordship or of his family) should not only be restored to his native soil, but also have a seat in the King's Council, a very evident sign that as they could not openly demand the restitution of the Pope's authority, which had been forbidden them by law under penalty of rebellion, they demanded it indirectly. The people therefore being well inclined, and their ruler the Queen most excellently disposed, and those who would have chiefly sought to thwart the matter being by God's justice in her hands, it is to be hoped that this restoration will not prove difficult, most especially when backed by the Emperor's authority; and it may be very reasonably supposed that the people of England will resume their obedience to the Apostolic See, since they can allege no grievance against it, as no kingdom enjoyed more prerogatives and exemptions than England, during her acknowledgment of the papal supremacy; and moreover, because subsequently, owing to this change, the losses (*danni*) and burdens of the country have been endless.

As to the difficulty on account of the interests of the nobility, Cardinal Pole hopes a remedy will be found, and reserves its discussion for his interview with the Emperor, as he desires and hopes that his Majesty will be the person to adjust, regulate and adapt (*accomodare*) this part, as an excellent medium between his cousin and the parties concerned, so that all the praise and glory may rest, as is very fitting on every account, with his Majesty.

Should the Emperor maintain that the Legate's passage to England at present would be premature, Fiordibello will reply that should it seem premature for the attainment of the end, Cardinal Pole's presence will at least give the Emperor and the Queen greater opportunity for discussing and negotiating this matter; and if this were abandoned the cause would become hopeless. In addition to this, the mere presence of the Emperor [at Brussels]

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should be a sufficient reason for Cardinal Pole's going into those parts to confer with him, and hear his most prudent opinion; although besides this, it can by no means seem premature to obtain that the Queen should at least send a person to discuss and treat this matter with him, as the King her father, although the open enemy of the Apostolic See, was induced of his own accord, at the time of Cardinal Pole's former legation [in the year 1537], to send some of his dependents (*alcuni delli suoi*) to him, namely, the King's own confessor and some doctors, who had already departed on their way, as affirmed by the Bishop [designate] of Worcester, who was then in the King's Court, though they did not cross the Channel, having met a courier with news of Cardinal Pole's departure for Italy [from Liege in August], he having been recalled by the Pope.

The Emperor of his extreme prudence has also to consider, should anything sinister befall the Queen, that remaining in their present state the affairs of the religion would run great danger, as some powerful King, declaring her schismatic, might wage war on her, and place her in great difficulties, by means of such a protest, and perhaps also with the favour of some friendly Pope. And if the Duke now a prisoner,* thought fit to avail himself of the name of King Henry's second sister's granddaughter (*figliuola*) [Jane Gray], for which purpose he married her to one of his sons to colour his right (*le sue ragioni*) to occupy England; how much greater reason would there not be to fear this from the granddaughter (*figliuola*) of the King's late sister, who has remained heiress of Scotland?—both as she is descended from the elder sister, and also because she is not schismatic. So that the Queen of England, by reuniting herself to the Apostolic See, would secure herself against this danger, and much more were she also to be crowned by the hand of a Legate from the Apostolic See.

It is unnecessary to exhort his Imperial Majesty, Cardinal Pole being very certain that for every reason, both divine and human, he is excellently disposed to embrace this holy and glorious undertaking.

As to Cardinal Pole, individually, the Emperor knows, should he go to England, how much he is bound to him (*quanto li sia obbligato*).

The French have requested the Pope that Cardinal Pole may pass through France, and his Holiness left it optional with him to do so, showing, however, that the straighter and more fitting way was to the Emperor, which Cardinal Pole has with reason determined to take.

Fiordibello is to apply to the Cardinal Legate Dandino, and consult with him as to how much of Cardinal Pole's commission he is to impart; and is to communicate everything to him.

[Maguzzano, 20th August?]

[*Italian.*]

* John Dudley Duke of Northumberland.

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Aug. 21.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl.

773. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA, Papal Nuncio [with the Emperor].

Is sending his Secretary, Messer Antonio Fiordebelli, to congratulate the Emperor on these auspicious events in England. Has charged him to salute the Nuncio in his name, and acquaint him with the particulars of his commission, hoping that the Nuncio will give him hints for the benefit of this common cause, which is so important for the Apostolic See. Requests him to do so, and refers himself for the rest to the Secretary.

Maguzzano, 21st August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

774. THE SAME to the BISHOP OF ARRAS [ANTOINE PERRENOT DE GRANVELLE].

Has received a brief from the Pope, informing him that his Holiness and the Sacred College have elected him Legate to the Queen of England and the Emperor, and other Princes likewise, as may seem opportune and expedient to him for the re-organization (*per indirizzar*) of the affairs of the religion in that kingdom. This was done immediately on hearing of the miraculous success in favour of the just cause of Queen Mary. Has thought it his duty to announce the appointment to the Emperor by letter, to be delivered by the present bearer, his Secretary, praying his Majesty at the same time, that in like manner, as he always wished that kingdom to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and negotiated and exhorted in order that the King and his guardians (*governatori*), from whom but little could be hoped, might be brought thus to do, so he will now be pleased vigorously to interpose his authority with the present Queen, made, it may be said, by the hand of God, and who will give much more credit to the opinion and counsel of his Imperial majesty than to all the other Princes and private individuals in the world united, as she ought and has great cause to do, and especially by reason of the experience she has had of his Imperial Majesty's very prudent guidance (*prudentissimo indrizzo*) in obtaining, by means of his ministers, the crown which by right belonged to her. Doubts not but that these Imperial ministers, together with the divine assistance, took a great part in bringing this vessel into such safe harbour; so as he desires and hopes that the end may correspond to so auspicious a beginning, he has recourse to the same medium. Knows well that there is no need to urge the Bishop of Arras readily to employ the grace and favour enjoyed by him with the Emperor, to exhort his Majesty to undertake this cause with becoming zeal, promptitude, and resolution, being convinced of the Bishop's piety towards God and his Church, and of his regard for the honour of the Emperor, who cannot assume any undertaking which could obtain for him more honour and reward with God and man than this one, or one which is more expected by everybody on many accounts from his holy and victorious hand. But as he (Pole) hopes (please God) to find himself shortly in the Emperor's presence, he will then be able to confer in particular with the Bishop about the means whereby

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this pious and holy work may reach its due end; and therefore in this letter he will not dilate upon it further, referring himself, for whatever else he might now say, to the statement of its bearer.

From Maguzzano, 22nd August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

775. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose advices for communication as usual.

Vigore deliberationis Ill^{mi} Senatus,
diei 25 August.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

776. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

As it is now very probable that the report of your restoration to the right of the Crown of England, circulates throughout Christendom, your Majesty may believe that in no part of it is there any person of a Christian mind, who on hearing of this most auspicious event does not feel great joy and pleasure, to which fact, in Italy, from what I hear and see, I can bear ample testimony, so that I think many years have elapsed since any news has been received here with greater joy and applause. This proceeds not merely from the thing itself, that is to say, that your Majesty has been restored to the dominion of that realm which by right and justice belonged to you,—a joy peculiar to England, and most especially to those already acquainted with the endowments (*gratie*) given you by God, to enable you to rule and govern,—but the means whereby you have obtained possession of the kingdom is what gives matter for rejoicing to all nations, and all private individuals, there being thus evidently manifest the hand and power of God for your defence, against such malice and violence as was employed against you to deprive you of your right. It is also seen, not only that, deprived as you were of all human succour, you were released from the hands of your enemies, but that they, in arms, against you who were defenceless, became your prisoners without bloodshed or sword-stroke, all their malicious counsel recoiling on their own heads, they being the identical individuals who shortly before ruled with such iniquity and license, as if the providence of God had nothing to do with the government of this world. You perceive "*quod est ubique Deus judicans illos in terra.*"*

This is the principal cause which rejoices the hearts of all men who, by thanks and praise for the grace and mercy of God, celebrate this fact in such wise that no feast can be more universally kept with greater good-will and joy than this one of your accession to the Crown (*ingresso al regno*). And those same persons who so greatly rejoice at this are anxiously waiting to see the manner and order which your Majesty will take to provide what is requisite for the honour and service of God, who has given you

* "Judging the people of the land."—2 Kings xv. 5, Chr. xxvi. 21.

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CARDINAL POLE
to
QUEEN MARY
(27th August).

so great a victory, in retrieving the great losses and injuries hitherto suffered by the kingdom, most especially in the two principal foundations of its quiet and welfare, namely in the true religion and civil justice, which have been so violated and crushed by the late rulers (*governatori*), that never, I am certain, have similar confusion and ruin been witnessed in any hostile persecution since Christians have had dominion there. On this, I say, all honest men are intent, and have their eyes fixed; and secretly all are anxious to see how ready your Highness will be to render the title of the primacy of the Church on earth to him to whom the supreme head both of heaven and earth has given it,* restoring to him the due obedience, immediately on the banishment of which, all true religion and even justice were in like manner expelled; and for its return, in order that both one and the other may come back, I am now sent to your Majesty by him, to whom in truth and justice this title belongs.

Of how great importance and moment this is, both for England and the Church of God, your Majesty, without the perusal of books which treat this matter, may read, I say, in the much clearer testimony of the blood of those, who you knew were considered the first in the kingdom for their fame of true doctrine and religion. The providence of God, therefore, has chosen that in like manner as the authority of his Son, God and man, to whom he had given all power in heaven and earth, was testified by the death of so many martyrs; so was the authority given by him to his Vicar on earth testified and defended by the effusion of innocent blood. And this has always been my argument against those who most despaired of the restoration in England of the authority of the Apostolic See, as I could not believe that the blood of those to whom God had given the grace to die for the confusion (*confusione*, sic) (*confessione*?) of this authority, and the prayers of many others who have suffered for the same cause, constantly appealing to his mercy for its restitution, should not prove efficacious,† when to his providence the time seemed opportune. That time is, I hope now come, the goodness of God having rendered to your Highness your due title, in order that the title of Supreme Head of the Church may be restored by you to whom he gave it, and the true religion and justice return at the same time into the kingdom.

I will not now expatiate further on this matter by letter, hoping to do so in person, or to be informed where the subject could be treated most conveniently for both parties, not so much for the declaration of the truth, of which I cannot believe that there is any doubt in your mind, but to find the mode and means that, being agreed about this truth its fruit may be received into the kingdom. I know—what is well known to all

* The act of the royal supremacy was not repealed until January 1555. (See Froude, vol. vi. pp. 98, 300, 301; ed. 1860.)

† Non potendo io credere ch'è il sangue di quelli a' quali Dio haveva data gratia di morire per la confusione di quest' autorità et le oratione de molti altri che per la medesima causa hanno patito gridando di continuo avanti la sua misericordia per la restitutione di quella non dovessino esser essaudite quando alla providentia sua fusse parso tempo opportuno.

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CARDINAL POLE
TO
QUEEN MARY
(27th August).

other persons acquainted with the state of that kingdom—that when this truth was expelled thence (*non (sic) [ne?] fu scacciata*), the malice employed to deprive your Highness of the just title to the Crown was not greater than is now used to despoil the Apostolic See of the true just title of the primacy of the universal Church, and, should this ever be possible, bury it, so that it might never again be mentioned. But of this I am convinced, that should ever that title be buried for a while with your own which is so just, until the two together are resuscitated, your justice will never be able to produce the fruit desired and hoped for by all good men; and my hope that your Majesty will perform this divine and noble act, to the honour of God, and benefit of the Church and of your kingdom, proceeds not so much from the singular providence of God as witnessed by your restoration to the right of the Crown, as from his paternal care demonstrated in permitting you, the daughter of a King, and then his only child, endowed by his Divine Majesty with such exalted qualities, to be deprived in your tender age of due rank and honour, and this, as shown by the sequel, for the purpose of educating you in that school of tribulation, in which his dearest children are wont to be instructed; so that by there learning how to rule themselves for their own comfort, they may subsequently become better able and fitted to rule others for the general comfort.

This I consider to have been a great favour granted by God to your Majesty; the affliction, I say, endured by you hitherto, in order that you may be the more easily able to relieve the afflictions of others; and as you have now so troubled a kingdom to rule, all my hope is fixed on this, that in like manner as during the time of your tribulation it was, as it were, the theatre of the world, in which were represented the cruel and pitiable cases of persons high and low, than which few written tragedies contain more lamentable ones; so, under the government of your Highness, who has been tutored in the school of God how to rule yourself, it will become as it were a mirror of complete good order and true justice to the comfort of all good men, so that the other Sovereigns, by reason of the good religion and justice they shall see resplendent there, will come to take example for the good rule and government of their people. My expectations will be the more confirmed the sooner I shall witness the return of the kingdom to the union of the Church, and to the obedience of its supreme head on earth; and that this is the true door whereby to introduce some good order in the kingdom may be in part understood by what occurred after this stone was first removed from its place, when all good and just government commenced failing, and being at length entirely removed, all justice fell to the ground like an edifice deprived of its foundation.

But as I have already mentioned, the declaration of the importance and necessity of this point I reserve until the Lord God shall conduct me to your desired presence, although I do not in the least fear that the thing requires greater confirmation in your Majesty's own mind; and in like manner I hope you are also convinced that I speak on the subject and am eager about it for no other reason than because I am persuaded that what I exhort you to do is your duty before

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CARDINAL POLE
to
QUEEN MARY
(27th August).

God, and for your own benefit and that of your kingdom; although this obedience has been styled since many years a great and tyrannical yoke of servitude, which, were it so (as I am sure it is not for those who use and understand it as they ought), no consideration for any person whatever, nor any profit or honour in the world, would assuredly make me consent to be the means of introducing into my country, where I wish no one to give me any credit if any man can prove that I ever consented to any injustice against it, or to any abuse in Rome or elsewhere. And your Highness may the more believe that in this cause, I speak sincerely and without passion, knowing that I have been educated in the same school in which the Divine Providence, as I said before, educated you likewise, I entering at the same time with you, and learning the same lesson from the same Master; so I hope that it can never enter your Majesty's mind that I ever say or counsel otherwise than becomes a pupil from that school; and thus do I affirm before its Master, from whom I learnt what I shall say, that my whole intent in persuading you to this obedience of the Church, is for no other end than to bring back this your regal power *sub suave iugo Christi*, so that both you and your subjects may enjoy the charm (*dolcezza*) of it, for their benefit and salvation in this world and the next. And coming to your Majesty's individual case, I say that the establishment of this obedience is a greater establishment of your right to the Crown than any confederacy whatever which might be formed with any foreign Prince, or than the goodwill of your people at home, both which things are unstable, and from any slight cause may, and doubtless will, fail, should your Crown not be confirmed by the obedience of the Church, which is what will remove all the impediments which might hereafter be raised against you, and would win for you the complete good friendship of Sovereigns and the goodwill of your subjects, gaining for them, by this pious and divine act, the favour of God and of his Church for your protection and defence.

This is what renders me the more fervent in this cause, as I deem it of such great importance both for your own honour and for the benefit of your people, that at this commencement of your reign this should be established before all the other important matters. Nor is it unknown to me that before this can be done, owing to the many impediments devised by the adversaries of this power when they were the rulers, it is requisite to treat it with good and mature counsel, for which purpose I am proceeding on my journey towards your Majesty, awaiting your gracious and benign reply, enabling me at least to treat this cause in such place as shall seem most expedient to your goodness, so as subsequently to effect its perfect conclusion. And for this purpose, in like manner as on receiving notice of my legation, I immediately despatched one of my secretaries [Henry Penning] to your Majesty, so now when commencing my journey, it has seemed fit to me to send you this letter by another who is an old and confidential secretary of mine,* and, as I believe not unknown to your Majesty, who will

* On the 30th November 1553, Cardinal Pole's servant Thomas Goldwell was arrested at Calais on his way to England (See Turnbull's Calendar, p. 84), so I do not

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CARDINAL POLE vouchsafe to give him gracious audience concerning such matters as he is commissioned to acquaint you with on my behalf. And in conclusion I pray the Lord God, that as He has placed your Highness in this exalted station, so of his goodness will he dedicate your whole life to his divine honour, on which depend all your own honour and stability, and the entire welfare of your kingdom.*

From Maguzzano, 27th August 1553.

[Italian.]

Aug. 28.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

777. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER [STEPHEN GARDYNER].

The Grace of our Saviour Jesus Christ be with you, and infinitely praised be his Divine goodness, which has brought it to pass that for all those who have the greatest zeal for the honour of God and the welfare and preservation (*salute*) of that kingdom, and who in this such great need can and desire to aid both one and the other, it is lawful to unbosom and freely communicate their thoughts reciprocally to this end, with the hope of producing fruit in conformity with their pious and holy design, the which liberty has been impeded (*impedita*) since many years by the malice and perverseness of wicked rulers, so that those, who more than others, had both good will and knowledge of the common weal and advantage, were ill able to confer together, and still less could they be heard; and even had they been heard they were sure of their own ruin, without any hope of benefiting the public. From this miserable state the goodness and providence of God has now liberated England, by the miraculous protection and exaltation of that most noble Queen, who, having always shown herself devoted to the true religion and every sort of justice, has suffered for this cause more than any other person; and whoever ponders the work of God's hand in the mode of her Highness's restoration to the crown, or has any knowledge of her person and of the excellent qualities conceded her by God, cannot but firmly hope that her rights being now all restored to her, there will simultaneously return into the kingdom every sort of justice and good order, together with the true religion, all which things, since the time when her Majesty's rights (*giustitia*) commenced being combated and crushed, were banished thence, so much to the detriment both of public and private interests.

And as her Majesty's exaltation has caused great joy to all pious and Christian souls in general, especially to our country people, and above all to those who with sincere and constant faith have loved and revered the rare and noble qualities given by God to her Majesty, amongst whom I do not consider myself one of the last; I therefore assure your Lordship that on hearing of your release† I derived very great joy from it, as from the first effect of justice produced by this

think he was the bearer of this letter of the 27th August. It may perhaps have been conveyed by Michael Throckmorton, but I am only guessing. The instructions of Cardinal Pole to Goldwell (Cotton MSS. Titus, B. ii.) are quoted by Froude, vol. vi. pp. 133, 134.

* "Così per sua bontà voglia indirizzare tutta l' etade di Lei al divino suo honore dal quale dipende tutto l' honor vostro, stabilimento, e tutto l' bene del vostro regno."

† Stephen Gardyner, Bishop of Winchester, was released from the Tower on the 3rd of August 1553. (See Froude, vol. vi. p. 50.)

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CARDINAL POLE
to BISHOP
GARDYNER.
(28th Aug.)

miraculous and divine commencement; hoping at the same time that in like manner as the Lord God held his most merciful hand over you, giving you the grace, when shut up in your prison between the strongest walls, to place yourself in the presence of his Divine Majesty and before man *tanquam murum domui Israel*, so that pious souls might not remain helpless, and utterly oppressed by the impiety and malice of those who were intent on nothing but to disseminate and establish their perverse and impious doctrines;* so by your release you ought to be a great and powerful instrument for helping to release the kingdom both from the schism and from all heresy.

I have by so much the more strongly conceived such hope of you, considering the course (*progresso*) of your actions since the first time when I knew you, and your great qualities, both natural and acquired through your toil and industry, and also the providence and especial care which the Divine goodness has always evinced for you; so I was already of opinion that had your Lordship at the commencement chanced to serve a good Prince, and one somewhat moderately inclined towards the honour of God and the welfare of his realm, you would have displayed your ability and goodness in the service of your master and for the common weal much better. But as you had to serve a Prince of such a sort as was but too plainly shown to the whole world by his deeds, if you were not seen to yield such fruit as was reasonably expected at the first, the cause of this is rather to be attributed to the quality of the master you served, and to the infirmity of human nature, than to your own will and election, not having yet well learnt at that time *prelia Domini*, nor the mode of resisting schism, as you did at a later period, which was assuredly a very signal gift from the goodness of God, it being so rarely seen that the man who falls into the first error does not rush headlong into the second. And this is what (much to my comfort) I remark in your Lordship, when I consider that God, after calling you to be one of the chief shepherds of his flock, granted you much greater favours than some persons anticipated for you, bearing in mind your past life.

And that same Divine goodness having given you a higher grade of honour, which is, to suffer for love of him both shame (*dishonor*) and imprisonment, with loss of temporal goods, I remain convinced that He will now so multiply in you his supernatural gifts and favours, that on this present opportunity for manifesting them to the world to his honour, your actions will be of much greater service to his Divine Majesty and to the Church than they could be hitherto; you having acquired by means of trouble and tribulation suffered for love of Christ, much greater favours than when, by favour of your Prince, you were made Bishop without any trouble at all.

* "Con darvi gratia che nella vostra prigionia stando rinchiuso tra fortissimi muri, vi siate apposto innanzi sua Divina Maestà, et nel conspetto degli huomini, *tanquam murum domui Israel*, acciò che gli animi non restassero senza alcuna resistenza totalmente oppressi dalla impietà et malitia di coloro, i quali ad altri non attendevano che a seminar le loro perverse opinioni et impie." I believe this to signify that the Bishop of Winchester performed mass in the Tower, when a prisoner there, in the teeth of the Gospellers, and that he had a numerous congregation.

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CARDINAL POLE
to BISHOP
GARDYNER.
(28th Aug.)

This hope, induced by the singular graciousness of God towards your Lordship, moves me to write to you and exhort you that—as no greater opportunity could be afforded you for serving God and your country at the same time than that which is now given you by the goodness of its Governess (*Governatrice*), who, having found the kingdom in extreme confusion with regard to religion and every sort of justice, has not only freed your Lordship from every sort of restraint (*distretto*) and tribulation, but has even called you to be one of her chief privy councillors,* for the reform both of the religion and of justice,—you will so use all your energies, that amongst the many errors and acts of injustice to be provided against with time, there be first of all removed that error which, when introduced into the kingdom, gave admission to all the other abuses (*inconvenienti*) and disorders which subsequently ensued.

This, your Lordship knows, was the withdrawal (*il mancamento*) of the obedience to the Roman Church and to its head; the which obedience, from the day that the Christian religion was received in England until our miserable time, was always preserved, as in all other Christian realms, unpolluted by heresy; and no sooner was it banished from that kingdom than every sort of injustice and impiety entered it, as no one knows better than your Lordship, who also perceives that, if the restoration of the true religion and justice, together with the due obedience to a head of the Church of God on earth, namely, to him who rules the Roman See, ought ever to be expected from the ministers (*governatori*) of any King or Queen of England, it is to be expected from her present Majesty more than from any one else,† not merely by reason of the devout and religious disposition evinced by her at all times towards the true religion, but also on account of the gratitude which she is so greatly bound to show towards that Church, which, for maintaining the just cause (*la giustizia*) and honour of her Highness, is so unjustly deprived of its due honour and supremacy in England.

Now, therefore, when the most holy providence of God has restored the just title of the Crown to her Highness, nothing better becomes her noble, just, and pious disposition (*animo*) than to restore to the Roman Church its just title of supremacy, and to do so regardless of any worldly consideration (*senza rispetto humano*), most readily and joyfully relying on that omnipotent Lord who has placed everything in her hands. This is the hope of all good men who have at heart the honour of God, the service of his Church, the establishment of the Queen's Majesty, and the welfare of her kingdom, as conceded by the Almighty, immediately on hearing of the victory given her so miraculously by God over the usurpers of the Crown.

When this news reached Rome, who as a loving mother had long bewailed the unjust affliction and tribulation of her dearest and most tenderly loved daughter, and in vain attempted all

* "Ma l' etiandio chiamato ad esser uno del suo secreto in supremo grado."

† "Si deve aspettar mai da governatori di Re ò di Regina alcuna di questo regno ciò si deve più che da ogni altro dalla Maestà dalla Regina presente."

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CARDINAL POLE
to BISHOP
GARDYNER.
(28th Aug.)

means to assist her, on hearing at length that God with his own hand had released her, joyful thanksgivings were immediately rendered to God by the Church, in testimony of which I, who was then absent, being known to be an Englishman and the Queen's faithful kinsman and servant, was elected Legate to congratulate her Majesty, and with the most ample authority and faculty that could be desired for her comfort and that of the whole kingdom and its inhabitants individually; not doubting but that daughter, who from the hand of God received her due title to the Crown, which had been usurped by those who simultaneously usurped the supremacy of the Roman See, will with her own hand restore to her mother the due title of the primacy (*primato*), lost for love of that daughter.

Having written diffusely to her Highness on this subject in two letters, I now write this to your Lordship, hoping that as you have been called to the royal Council for assistance, and to devise an opportune remedy for all the disorders and abuses introduced into the kingdom, so will you not fail to use the grace which God has given you, by exerting yourself with all industry, that the joy and satisfaction now received by the kingdom through the recovery (*recuperatione*) of its true head, to whom the Crown was in all justice due, may augment in every quarter to the true and permanent consolation of all men. This result it will no longer behove me to wait for* when I shall see the head of the Church of God on earth consoled by that honour and obedience which is due to him, and by means of that hand which, more than any other, is in duty and justice bound to do so. And for this I hope that the Lord God will have elected your Lordship as his great and powerful instrument, to which effect I will not fail earnestly to pray his Divine Majesty to vouchsafe always to have you under his gracious and merciful protection, long preserving you for his honour, and for the benefit of the kingdom and the service of his Church.

From Maguzzano, 28th August 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

778. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL PIGHINO.

Did not receive the letter which Pighino sent him by the secretary who brought the legatine brief;† had it reached him he would have written sooner, thanking the Cardinal heartily, as he now does, for affection which Pole has always felt to be beyond his deserts, though he thoroughly reciprocates it. Knows most certainly that Pighino of his piety earnestly desires that in the holy cause intrusted to him he may have such success as is hoped from so good and miraculous a commencement. By God's grace Pole has no lack of ready will to sustain all toil and trouble for this end. It remains for them all to pray God to favour the work commenced with his own hand; requests the Cardinal thus to do for his own

* Del ch  al hora Io non aspetter  l'effetto quando veder  il cap  della Chiesa di Dio in terra consolato di quell' honore et obedi enza ch  si li deve.

† Cardinal Pighino was "Datario," and in right of his office despatched the brief appointing Pole Legate to England, which document is alluded to in Pole's letter to the Pope, dated 13th August 1553.

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honour, for the consolation of all Christendom, and for the welfare of the realm of England, which has been harrassed and ruined by so much adversity.*

[Maguzzano, 28th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

779. STATEMENT made to CARDINAL POLE by the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], after his audience of Pope Julius III. in August 1553.†

That the Pope referred himself entirely to the will and opinion of Cardinal Pole with regard to delaying or hastening his departure and the mode of proceeding in this negotiation, leaving the whole burden of it to his prudence, hoping that in this holy work he would be guided by the hand of God; so his Holiness purposed regulating himself in this especial business as the Cardinal shall judge best, nor will he fail fully to agree with him about whatever he considers fitting, in like manner as he gave him full powers to exercise or renounce the legation during such time as shall seem best to him, and with authority to act (should he think it desirable so to do) as a private individual having at heart the welfare of England his native land.

That his Holiness was content that Cardinal Pole should tell the Queen of England in the Pope's name that he wishes nothing more from her, nor from her kingdom, than the salvation of its souls, and its quiet and peace, as also that of her Majesty, whose accession to the Crown has been willed by God for the exaltation of His holy name, and for the reunion of that realm to the obedience of His holy Church; and as when it was apprehended that her Majesty might incur some molestation, the Pope determined to render her every assistance and favour by appointing Cardinal Pole legate to her, so now when the Almighty has removed all obstacles, the Pope has thought fit to give him full powers to absolve and do whatever else is necessary for the salvation of those souls, and for the peace and quiet of her Majesty and her kingdom.

That he is also content that Cardinal Pole do promise the Queen and her Council that his Holiness will do whatever shall be thought expedient by the Cardinal and the Queen and Council for the welfare and benefit of England, in case the kingdom resume its obedience to the Apostolic See.

In conclusion, the Pope says he is aware that our Lord God has preserved Cardinal Pole for him to render this holy service to his country, and therefore the will and intention of his Holiness is, that he do whatever God shall inspire him to do; and that his Holiness does not intend to give ear to others, nor to credit them, save so far as the Cardinal shall think well and fitting in this negotiation. And in like manner, should he have occasion to stop in Flanders or in other places near their Majesties, the Emperor and the King of

* At the foot of this letter there is a transcript in the MS. of the reply given to it by Cardinal Pighino, who died at the close of the year 1553, and not in 1551, as stated by Moretti. (See Cardella, vol. iv. p. 322.)

† See letter from Cardinal Pole to the Pope, date 13th August 1553.

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France, the Pope thinks of recalling the two Legates [Dandino and Capodiferro], and commissioning Cardinal Pole to treat for peace between them, with the hope of effecting some good result, that he may thus delay his journey with greater dignity and await the opportunity for crossing over to England (*et con maggior dignità si possa trattenere et aspettare l'occasione di passar in Inghilterra*).

[Rome, 30th August 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2?

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date of time

or place in MS.

780. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL CORNARO.*

Is very certain that he will have heartily rejoiced, as they have all reason to do, at the prosperous events in England, by so much the more on account of the extraordinary and miraculous mode in which they have been brought to pass, to the honour of his Divine Majesty, and the benefit of his Church and of England, which for so many years has been in every way so sorely persecuted. Prays God to be enabled to serve Him in this holy cause, in like manner as he has been endowed with the will and readiness to undergo any toil for it; his Holiness and the sacred College having conferred on him the legation to England. Thanks Cardinal Cornaro for his loving offers, of which he will always avail himself with the confidence given him by his many acts of courtesy and affection; and for the present will merely request him, during Pole's absence, to continue to protect Bagnarea, and the monks of Sant' Onofrio,† which favour he granted to Pole on his departure from Rome. It would also be much to Pole's satisfaction that the Cardinal should use his apartments in the palace, and whatever else he possesses, having given this commission to his Abbot of San Saluto, whom he sent lately to Rome, desiring him to mention this to anyone who spoke to him on the subject, including his Holiness if necessary. Has also given the like instructions to Messer Gio. Francesco Stella, whom he is now sending to Rome to remain there as his agent, requesting the Cardinal to protect him likewise.

[Maguzzano, 2nd September 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

781. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of ST. GEORGE [GERONIMO CAPODIFERRO].‡

Believes the Pope has written to him about the office he is to perform with the most Christian King concerning the matter of England, independently of what the Cardinal will have done spontaneously; but his Holiness having appointed Pole Legate for these affairs, he requests him to do his utmost to obtain the favour and support of his Majesty, knowing how much it will conduce to the return (*reduzione*) of that realm [to the Roman Catholic religion]. Being convinced of the Cardinal's piety, and also because

* Andrea Cornaro; see before, date February 1st 1550.

† An Hieronimite Monastery at Rome, in which Torquato Tasso died on the 25th April 1595.

‡ The Cardinal of St. George had been sent as Legate by Pope Julius III. to Henry II. King of France, to make peace between him and the Emperor, but the attempt failed (See Panvinio, *Lives of the Popes*, p. 674.)

1553.

the business is not yet further advanced, it is unnecessary for him to say more on the subject; about which he is writing a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and sends him a copy of it that he may be acquainted with the whole. Should the Cardinal of St. George write to him he is to address his letters to the care of the Legate at the Emperor's Court.

From Maguzzano, 3rd September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

782. CARDINAL POLE to CARDENAL FARNESE.

Does not remember ever to have spoken to the late Pope Paul of blessed memory about the affairs of England, without hearing from him that it was the wish of his most Christian Majesty to bring that kingdom back to the Catholic religion, and to its obedience to the Holy See; the like being told him frequently by the French ambassador at Rome, notwithstanding the many and great difficulties which opposed the project. It having now pleased God thus miraculously to facilitate this holy work, Pole is very certain that what his most Christian Majesty was inclined to attempt at a most unfavourable moment, will now be moved by him with such ardour as required by his usual piety and observance towards the Apostolic See. Being appointed Legate in England for this purpose, with orders to apply to the Emperor and the King of France, as the circumstances of the case may require, and being on his way, as written by him to the Legate in France, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine; thinks it advisable to pray Cardinal Farnese—either alone or with the two Cardinals aforesaid, as he shall deem most expedient—to advocate this cause with his most Christian Majesty, as Pole is sure he will do, of his usual goodness and piety.

[From Maguzzano, 3rd September 1553.]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxviii. p. 154,
tergo.

783. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letters of the 24th July and 8th August, received detailed accounts of the proclamation of the Lady Mary as most Serene Queen of England, and of her arrival in London, together with the rest of the events which had occurred in those parts; and as the office performed by him with the Queen, and her Majesty's reply, were most satisfactory, they desire him again to congratulate her in their name on her accession, adding that good and sincere friendship having always subsisted between the Crown of England and the Signory, and they having such great esteem for her Majesty (by reason of the virtue, prudence, and religion which they know her to possess), equal to what they entertained for some of her ancestors, they were very glad to hear what she said to him about persevering in this friendship, which her Majesty both at present and hereafter will assuredly find reciprocated by the Signory, as will be announced to her more fully by an ambassador for this purpose.

Is also to present himself to the Lords of the Council, so that being convinced of the Signory's goodwill, they on their parts may

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also have cause to continue in the same, and protect the Republic's subjects, as they have done hitherto.

And be it forthwith voted, that at the next sitting of the Senate, an ambassador be elected to the most Serene Queen Mary of England, to reside at her Majesty's Court, and remain in that legation for the period appointed by law, and with such other commission as shall seem fit to this Council; the person thus elected not to refuse under the penalties according to the Act passed by the Senate and the Grand Council.

To have for his expenses 150 golden ducats per month, of which be he not bound to show any account, such having been the salary received by the other ambassadors lately resident in that kingdom.

Ayes, 134. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.*

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

784. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

As the bearer of the present letter is to be Messer Gio. Francesco Commendone, to whom Pole has given especial instructions with regard to what he is to relate to the Pope about the affairs of England; he having also been told what occurred to Pole on the subject; and as Commendone is so faithful and prudent, as moreover shown by him in this business, and in order not to detain him longer; Pole thinks he can rely on his statement, without giving any detailed account to the Pope of his own opinion, which in short is, that he thinks it by no means fitting that this point of returning to the union of the Church and obedience to the Apostolic See should be passed over in silence at the first meeting of the English Parliament; nor can the appeal be made, save through the medium of some Papal agent, who, if not in England, should at least find himself in person in the neighbourhood. Should this be in accordance with the opinion and will of his Holiness, Pole requests the Pope to let him know whether he is to proceed towards the Imperial Court, and in the meanwhile he will not move from the environs of the Lake of Garda, but await there the Pope's orders. Should the Pope think fit again to send any one for this purpose to England, Pole would be of opinion that this same Commendone, who has already commenced the negotiation, might prove a very fitting person, referring himself, however, to the very prudent judgment of the Pope, whose most holy feet he kisses with all respect.

From San Francesco, on the Island of the Lake of Garda, 7th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

**785. CARDINAL POLE to the MASTER of the SACRED PALACE
[GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI.]**

Most blessed Father in Christ, most dear as a brother.

Considering the cause of England the cause of God, as it in truth is, Pole willingly communicates what relates to it, to those who

* In the manuscript this letter is misdated 7th November, the local date, however, being correct.

1553.

are most zealous for the honour of his Divine Majesty and for the advantage of his Church, and whose sentiments are the least worldly (*et manco passioni humane*). Believing the Master to be one of this class, he will tell him what follows, not merely for the sake of acquainting him with the present state of affairs, but also to obtain his assistance, most especially knowing how willingly the Pope listens to persons of his sort, and particularly to the Master himself, as Pole has frequently heard from his Holiness's own lips.

The chief point (*capo*) in this case of England is the method (*modo*) to be used for bringing back that kingdom to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and concerning this method, the opinion of those whose aim and desire are concordant, is nevertheless at variance. Pole will first state his own opinion, and then say in what he differs from others. His opinion is this. The power of God having been manifested by his so miraculously giving the kingdom to that person for whose sake the Apostolic See endangered its authority there, and that person evincing such gratitude as is heard, it seems to Pole that the mode of proceeding whereby to obtain the desired end is taught them by the Queen herself. Thus far there is no discrepancy of opinion, but here it commences; as it is seen that at this commencement of her reign her Majesty is unable to do what she wished in this matter, owing to the violent opposition of those who, having derived great profit, which they continue making, from the disobedience to the Apostolic See, cannot for their own interest consent to the proposal of this point, and yet their consent in this case is necessary. It is therefore said, that all address must be used, taking advantage from time, and allowing the matter to be well matured, and not to bring it forward at this commencement.

In this part Pole differs from others, as whilst admitting that it is necessary to proceed with address, and also to give a little time for maturing the matter, he nevertheless says, that having the Queen's disposition for a good beginning, and as according to custom, immediately after the coronation, a Parliament will be held, in which it is usual to demand the redress of wrongs endured in preceding reigns, he is therefore of opinion that so flagrant an act of injustice and impiety as the disobedience to the Apostolic See, causing such injury and detriment to the entire ecclesiastical body (*stato*), should by no means be passed over in silence, and that is the time for making the motion.

Touching the address to be used, Pole says that the Pope having appointed a Legate, if the moment has not yet come for him to go straight to England, yet is the time mature for him to be in the neighbourhood, to enable him to assist the Queen's good intention, as though it might not yet seem opportune to issue the decree for the return of the country to its obedience to the Apostolic See, there would nevertheless be time not to let Parliament adjourn without proposing this matter and negotiating, for if the Queen were inclined to do so, she might send persons to treat with Pole about the means to be devised for setting it forward, so that the measure might not be utterly reprobated (*si che egli (sic) non fosse in tutto abborrito*) when the time should come for proposing it.

1553.

This is his opinion about the time and the address to be used at present, and in the meanwhile the Emperor and the King of France might be requested to encourage the Queen as aforesaid.

Pole being of this mind, and on his way to act accordingly, having commenced his journey towards Flanders, was overtaken by Messer Francesco Commendone, who had been sent express to the Pope by the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino, Bishop of Imola], Legate to the Emperor, with orders to go to Pole and acquaint him with his Right Reverend Lordship's commission relating to the affairs of England. Commendone having delivered the Legate's letter, which expressed very good hopes of the cause, provided they acted with due and necessary caution,* and referred himself to the bearer's statement for further particulars; Pole inquired whether Commendone could tell him what the Legate meant by "due and necessary caution,"† because as he did not explain himself further, Pole was at a loss fully to comprehend his opinion.

Commendone replied by narrating in the first place all that he had negotiated in England, having been sent thither by the Cardinal of Imola to see and learn the state of the kingdom at this commencement, so as subsequently to dispose and negotiate the business better, and hear what hope there was for it. The substance of his report purported that after speaking with several intelligent persons, and having at length obtained admittance to the Queen, he found her no less well disposed than had been hoped; but that in this affair of obedience to the Pope (*dell' obediencia del Papa*), she nevertheless proceeded with great reserve (*rispetto*); and although she did not allow anything whatever to escape her about realizing her good will,‡ yet from what Commendone could see and learn concerning her Majesty and the kingdom, he inferred that there was need of great prudence and reserve.§

In conclusion, replying to Pole's inquiry about the interpretation of the Legate's words, Commendone said that the caution (*temperamento*) to be used in this business, related partly to the commission, given him with great secrecy, to ask as an act of grace from his Holiness, that as the Queen was so well inclined to bring back the realm to its obedience when the moment shall be opportune, he be pleased to exempt England from every interdict and censure, so that the Sacraments of the Church may be celebrated and used without any scruple of conscience, although in public they [the Catholics], like the others, consent to the schism.||

Pole is of opinion that before making this concession, the point

* Pur che si andasse con il debito et necessario temperamento.

† Quel che S. S.^{ta} R.^{ma} intendesse per il debito et necessario temperamento.

‡ Et benchè non si lasciasse intendere di cosa alcuna circa il mettere in essecutione la sua bona mente.

§ Nondimeno da quello che egli haveva potuto vedere et intender di lei et del Regno ne faceva questa conclusionone, che bisognava andare con gran maturità et rispetto.

|| In Graziani's account of Commendone's mission to England (Flécher, pp. 48-59) this demand is not mentioned. The words of Cardinal Pole are as follows:—"Era stato concesso in gran secreto di domandare a sua Santità gratia, che havendo la Regina questo buono animo di volere secondo che il tempo servirà meglio, ridur quel Regno alla obediencia, che in questo mezzo sua Santità levasse del Regno ogni interdetto et censura acciò possino celebrare et usare i Sacramenti della Chiesa senza scrupolo di coscienza non ostante chè publicamente co' gli altri acconsentino al scisma."

1553.

should be well pondered, and prays the Master freely to say what his conscience dictates in this case, he being apprehensive lest under this demand, so very pious and religious apparently, something of ill savour be concealed.* Pole also said this to Commendone, who asked him his opinion; and he told him besides that, were not he himself Legate, he should say that the most fitting reply would be to refer all that (*tutto ciò*) to the Legate, giving him the faculty, should this demand relate to the scruple of conscience, to absolve the internal scruples after some external demonstration of renouncing the schism, and not previously, as whatever the schismatics do, they do it publicly.† Pole does really not know whether he said so much to Commendone, but will assuredly say it to the Master, praying him, for his love of God, his Church, and the Apostolic See, immediately on receiving this letter, to obtain audience of the Pope about this matter, which is of great importance, and to inform his Holiness, in Pole's name, that on the one hand he has complied with the Legate's wish, by halting on his journey until he knows the Pope's will, but that to this other demand his conscience forbids him to consent.

Will await the commands of his Holiness.

From San Francesco, on the island of Garda, 8th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

786. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF IMOLA, Legate [in Germany, Geronimo Dandino].

By the Legate's order, Commendone has been with Pole, and delivered the Legate's letter, giving him detailed account of all he saw, heard, and negotiated in England. Pole told him what he thought on the subject, and when writing to the Pope, referred himself to Commendone's relation (*relatione*), merely stating his opinion, that at this commencement to pass over in silence this point of the union (*unione*) of the Church, could not but be very injurious to the cause, for the same reasons as those which the Legate will have heard from Pole's secretary, Fiordibello. Although it might seem imprudent (*immaturò*) for a Papal Legate or Nuncio to go to England at present, yet does it not seem to him by any means imprudent (*in-maturò*) to approach that neighbourhood, and commence treating the matter. Pole will await such orders as the Pope may be pleased to give him after hearing Commendone. With regard to the fitting and necessary caution (*seperamento—sic—temperamento*?) to be taken in this matter,* Pole will agree with the Legate, provided it do not exclude the commencement of negotiation, and the subsequent discussion in the first Parliament of this point, on which he is perfectly convinced there depends not only the advantage (*beneficio*) of the Apostolic See, but the salvation (*salute*) of that entire kingdom. From Pole's past experience in similar causes (*cause*) he fears greatly that the proceeding with too many worldly considera-

* Non lateat aliquid "di non troppo buon odore."

† Facendosi pubblicamente tutto quello che fanno i seismatici.

‡ Quanto al conveniente et necessario seperamento da usarsi in questo negocio Io convenirò con Lei purchè non escluda eti.

1553.

tions (*humani rispetti*) in a cause in which, as the Cardinal of Imola writes, God has so miraculously shown his power and goodness, may rather prove very injurious, irritating his Divine Majesty by the encouragements given to the wicked, whereas by proceeding throughout according to the other extreme (*che quando se procedesse in tutto per l'altro estremo*) ‡

May the Almighty vouchsafe to inspire his Holiness, the Emperor, and the Queen with what is most for His honour, and for the benefit of the Church, and of England. Pole has not received the letter which the Legate says he sent him by the ordinary Roman post.

In the monastery of San Francesco, on the island of Garda, 9th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9 ?

787. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

The Archpresbytership of Lonato, in the diocese of Verona, near the monastery where Pole now finds himself, having been conferred by the Bishop on Pole's chaplain, a Veronese, a very learned and worthy person, for no other reason than to provide for the care of souls in that place, which is of great importance, Pole requests the Pope to favour this election, and to hear from the bearer of the present letter the Bishop's rights to this nomination, he being a prelate entitled to all support, both ordinary and extraordinary, as this and all his other acts are directed to the honour of God, and the advantage of this diocese.

[Monastery of San Francesco, on the island of Garda, 9th September 1553 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.

788. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxviii. p. 157,
tergo.

The Duke of Northumberland and two other gentlemen [Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer], who opposed the Queen, were beheaded by her Majesty's order. To communicate this to the Porte as usual.

Ayes, 198. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11.

789. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Miscellaneous
Correspondence,
Venetian
Archives.

After acquainting me with the reply to be made to Cardinal Dandino, the Queen subsequently had a very earnest request made to me, to let him know that for the benefit of the incipient negotiation and for the quiet of England, Cardinal Pole should by no means come hither either as Legate or as a private individual, but that he should delay his coming until a more fitting time; and her Majesty also wished his Holiness to be very certain that this is not because she has changed her mind from what she said to Com-

1553.

mendone, or that she should not be glad to see Cardinal Pole, as she bore the same good-will as ever towards both one and the other, but that the nature of the times required this.

Has written the whole to the [Venetian] Ambassador, Da Mulla [at Brussels?], that he may communicate it to Cardinal Dandino. The person sent by the Queen to Brussels, to bring to England the person who said he had letters for her Majesty from Cardinal Pole, did not return until today. From what Soranzo hears he came alone, but as yet he has been unable to learn any further particulars.

London, 11th September 1553.

(Signed :) Giacomo Soranzo, Kav^r, Ambasciatore.

In cipher, with contemporary decipher.

[Italian.]

Sept. 19.
Miscellaneous
Correspondence,
Venetian
Archives.

790. The SAME to the SAME.

Wrote to them on the 12th* what Cardinal Dandino's secretary, Francesco Commendone, negotiated with the Queen about re-uniting England to the Roman Church. Received letters subsequently from Commendone, at Brussels, informing him that as soon as he had acquainted Dandino with his negotiations, he was despatched immediately to stop, wherever he should be found, a Bishop,† whom Cardinal Pole was sending to England, and also to prevent Pole from proceeding farther; Commendone being ordered then to go to Rome to execute the commission received from her Majesty; and he urged him (Soranzo) to acquaint the Queen with this, assuring her that nothing would be done which could cause her trouble or displeasure. In consequence of this, understanding it to be generally divulged throughout England, that the Pope had determined to send Cardinal Pole thither as Legate, thought it fit that the Queen should know what Commendone wished, and by the same means as those employed for Commendone's introduction,‡ he acquainted her with what is aforesaid. The Queen gave no other answer, save that she greatly thanked Cardinal Dandino for the good-will demonstrated by him. But subsequently, from another quarter, heard that at Brussels there is another person [Henry Penning], who is bringing her letters from Cardinal Pole, but not choosing to cross the Channel without the Queen's permission, her Majesty sent him word to come, so he is expected from day to day.

London, 19th September 1553.

(Signed :) Giacomo Soranzo, Kav^r, Ambasciatore.

In cipher, with contemporary decipher.

[Italian.]

* The letter has not been found.

† Richard Pate, Bishop designate of Worcester.

‡ By this it appears that the ambassador Soranzo was the person who caused Commendone, on his first arrival in London in August 1553, to be introduced to the Queen by Lee; whose name is mentioned by Graziani and Lingard.

1553.

Sept. 26.
Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.,
v. xxi. p. 50.

791. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

That ten ducats be given to Alvise Agostini, late Secretary resident in England, and the like sum to Hieronimo Zuccato, who previously held the same office there.

Ayes, 16. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Sept. 28.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

792. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Congratulates himself on the course pursued by his Holiness and the Queen with regard to the affair of England. Hopes the Pope's conjectures about the negotiations for peace between the Emperor and France may not be verified, as Pole fears, but his Holiness has at least acted in accordance with his station and piety. Suggests that a jubilee be proclaimed to invite all Christendom to pray for the restoration of England to the Church of Rome, and for the peace, and that the wrath of God may be averted. Thanks the Pope for his gracious opinion of him, which binds him the more to serve faithfully in this holy undertaking, and to proceed if necessary at the risk of his life, without any regard for his own interests or those of any of his kinsfolk (*ò de alcuno de' mei*), using all possible caution so that all his actions may prove to the comfort and honour of his Holiness, whom he refers for further particulars to the bearer of the present letter. Did not receive the Pope's letters and brief until last evening, and tomorrow morning will set out on his journey (*mi metterò in viaggio*) with all diligence.

From the Island of the Lake of Garda, 28th September 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
Misdated in MS.
20 November.

793. CARDINAL POLE to his Secretary FIORDIBELLO [at Brussels].

Since Fiordibello's arrival at the Court, has received letters from him dated 1st, 2nd, 8th, 12th, 16th, and 18th instant, giving full account of all that he has negotiated with the Legate [Cardinal Dandino] and the Bishop of Arras, and is much satisfied with his diligence. After the arrival of Commendone, whilst awaiting the Pope's decision about his own journey, Pole received on the sudden last evening a despatch assigning him a fresh legation, so he purposes continuing his journey tomorrow morning with speed. Is writing to Cardinal Dandino, requesting him, should he not have any other order from his Holiness about announcing this new legation to the Emperor, to perform the office with his Majesty in such form as he shall deem expedient. Has also requested Cardinal Dandino, should his departure take place before Pole's arrival at the Imperial Court, to let him know what road he takes, that Pole may meet him, which he is very anxious to do, that he may obtain from him such information and warnings as may be expected from his prudence and affection; and in that case, Fiordibello may be the person to bring Pole the news, but

1583.

Sept. 25.
 From Cardinal
 Camillo X.
 v. x. p. 20.

701. Morton made in the Council at Rome.
 That he desires to give to the Pope a letter
 about the Kingdom of the Holy Roman Empire, which
 previously had the same office there.
 Ayres 16. No. 1. No. 1. No. 1.

[Latin]

Sept. 28.

MS. B. 1. 1.
 v. x. p. 20.

702. Cardinal Pius to Pope Sixtus IV.
 Concerning the matter of the Council of Rome and
 the Queen who was in the office of England. When the Pope
 continues about the negotiation for peace between the King
 and France may not be avoided, as the Pope has
 at last acted in accordance with his station and duty. Suggests
 that a Jubilee be proclaimed to invite all Christians to pay for
 the restoration of England to the Church of Rome, and for the
 peace and that the wrath of God may be averted. Thanks the
 Pope for his generous opinion of him which binds him the more
 to serve faithfully in this holy undertaking, and to present it
 necessary at the risk of his life without any regard for his own
 interests or those of any of his kindred. He offers to accept of any
 all possible conditions so that all his actions may prove to the comfort
 and honour of his Holiness, whom he serves for better purposes
 to the better of the present better. Did not receive the Pope's
 letters and had until last evening, and tomorrow morning will not
 not on his journey (but would in company) with all diligence
 from the island of the Lake of Geneva, 25th September 1583.

[Latin]

Sept. 28.

MS. B. 1. 1.
 v. x. p. 20.

703. Cardinal Pius to his Secretary Rostagno [at
 Rome].
 Since Rostagno's arrival at the Court has received letters from
 him dated 1st Feb. 1583, and last night given full
 account of all that he has negotiated with the French [Cardinal]
 [Cardinal] and the Bishop of Avignon and is much satisfied with the
 diligence. After the arrival of Rostagno, which awaiting the
 Pope's decision about his own journey, Pius received on the 25th
 last evening a despatch assigning him a fresh legation, so he
 purposes continuing the journey tomorrow morning with speed.
 is written to Cardinal Rostagno requesting him should he not
 have any other order from his Holiness about announcing the
 new legation to the Emperor to perform the office with his
 Majesty in such form as he shall deem expedient. It is also to
 request Cardinal Rostagno should his department like place before
 Pius's arrival at the Imperial Court, to let him know what had
 he taken that Pius may meet him which he is very anxious to do
 that he may discuss those his such indignation and wrongs as
 may be expected from his persistence and attention; and in that
 case Rostagno may be the person to bring Pius the news, but

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he is to regulate himself throughout according to Dandino's opinion. Refers himself for the rest to [the letter of] Monsignor Priuli.

[From the Island of the Lake of Garda, 28th September (t) * 1553.]

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

794. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Enclose summary of advices for communication as usual.

Vigore partis die sup^{te}.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.
Senato Terra,
v. xxxix. p. 51,
tergo.

795. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate.

It being fitting for their beloved nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, Ambassador-elect to England, to be instructed about current affairs, having shortly to go on his legation—

Put to the ballot, that said Ser Zuan Michiel, Ambassador-elect to England, may come into this Council, but without the right to ballot, as done by all other Ambassadors-elect.

Ayes, 205. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.
Senato Mar,
v. xxxii. p. 104,
tergo.

796. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Confirmation of the motion made on the 2nd September authorizing Ser Zuan Michiel to sit in the Senate.

Ayes, 205. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

797. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Wrote to the Pope on the 28th [September], the day before his departure from the Island of the Lake of Garda, and arrived today at Trent, being greeted and received by the Cardinal Bishop with all love and courtesy. On the road, near Trent, was overtaken by a courier despatched express by his secretary Fiordibello from Brussels on the 24th ultimo, having come in six days, and bringing him letters from the first messenger sent by him to England [Henry Penning], the same who brought him the briefs of his first legation; the copies of which letters, translated *ad verbum* from the English, the Pope will receive with this present; nor has he anything more to say on this subject, save to congratulate his Holiness on the excellent will and disposition clearly evinced by the Queen through her demand for absolution. Her Majesty having given this hint, Pole, in accordance with the license (*licenza*) given him by the Pope in this matter, will write to her that this same demand having been already made of his Holiness in her name [by Commendone?], he wrote to her that he would by all means (*in ogni modo*) grant her this consolation, proceeding

* I derive the date from the preceding letter alluding to the Pope's brief, etc.

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however with the utmost secrecy in compliance with her desire ; and that her Majesty may thus remain with her conscience perfectly at ease (*sicurissima in conscientia*), as the Lord God sees her heart, she having also heard the will of his Vicar through his Legate ; but that Pole will nevertheless endeavour to obtain the absolution in writing, keeping it in his own possession, and giving notice of it to the Queen by this third messenger, whom he purposes despatching express immediately, by so much the more willingly as he has now received this reply, and to comfort the Queen respecting her pious wish. Has not yet translated the Queen's letter into Italian, but, when translated, will send a copy of it as he did of the others, that the Pope (should he please) may see in detail what he wrote.* The particulars of these letters have not been communicated by him—nor will he communicate them—to any persons save those employed by him for writing. Has merely said, as he will continue doing for the future to those who shall ask him the substance of what his messenger wrote to him, that he found the Queen excellently and piously disposed towards God and his Church, and especially towards Pole himself individually. Will not weary the Pope further, as the rest of the information he has to give him will be contained in a letter he is writing to the Cardinal del Monte ; and with all due reverence he kisses the Pope's feet, praying God long to preserve and prosper him for the benefit of his holy Church.

From Trent, 1st October 1553.

P.S.—Is compelled to remain at Trent tomorrow, to despatch a messenger express to England with letters to the Queen, in reply to what Her Majesty wishes about [spiritual] consolation, as the Pope has heard ; and he simultaneously gives the Queen notice of this new office enjoined him, to endeavour to make peace between the Emperor and France, so that he necessarily has an opportunity for approaching England, which he hopes she will be glad to hear, her mind being bent, as it is, on treating at any rate in this present Parliament, the repeal of the iniquitous laws introduced into the realm, amongst which this one of the Supremacy is the chief. Pole exhorts her to the utmost thus to do in this third letter, which he has already written to her, as the Pope (should he please) can see. Hopes it will become more and more manifest daily that God inspired the Pope to give him this new appointment ; and should it not prove as efficacious with the sovereigns as desired, though he will not quite despair of some road being opened by the Almighty to the honour of his Holiness, yet at any rate it may be hoped that by this journey Pole will be enabled greatly to benefit the first design.

Pole also purposes despatching his Abbot [of San Saluto] from Trent to France.

From Trent, 1st October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

* Acciochè vostra Santità piacendoli possa intendere particolarmente quel ch'è Io ho scritto.

1553.

Oct. 1.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

798. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DEL MONTE.

Wrote to the Pope on the 28th ultimo, and departed from the Isola del Lago de Garda on the morrow. Arrived today at Trent, where the Cardinal Bishop received him most lovingly and with every sort of courtesy. Has sent one of his attendants express to France with letters of credence to the most Christian King, to the Constable [Anne Duke de Montmorency], to the Cardinal of Lorraine [Charles de Guise, Archbishop of Rheims], to the Cardinal Legate [Gieronimo Capodiferro], and to Cardinal Farnese, acquainting them with this new office, assigned him by the Pope, and with his wish to be with the King of France immediately after having seen the Emperor, to carry out his Holiness's pious and holy wish to conclude the peace, for the general benefit of all Christendom. Pole thought it advisable to do this, both to show that the King of France was held in due account, and also to prove that this legation has not been appointed solely for appearance and as an introduction to the other, but from the Pope's wish to attempt the accomplishment of so salutary a measure by several means.† In order to send off this express, Pole is obliged to remain at Trent during tomorrow, and will then continue his journey with speed. Will not say anything more to Cardinal del Monte about the advices from England, referring himself to what he is writing on the subject to the Pope.

From Trent, 1st October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

799. CARDINAL POLE to HENRY II., KING OF FRANCE.

Through the many and constant good offices performed by the Pope with his Majesty and the Emperor, exhorting them both to make peace, the King of France will have understood his just and pious desire to obtain this grace from God and their Majesties; and his Holiness, persevering more and more daily in this holy purpose, not choosing to omit any means for obtaining so great a benefit for Christendom—and especially for their Majesties and their kingdoms—and having thought fit to recall the two Legates [Capodiferro and Dandino], hitherto resident with their Majesties, has been pleased to make choice of Pole, appointing him Legate to both one and the other of them at the same time to this effect. Being now on his way to their Majesties with all speed, has thought it his duty to send the Abbot of San Saluto‡ in advance with this letter, for presentation to the King of France. Requests his Majesty to give him audience and credence for the statement which he will make in Pole's name. In the meanwhile, Pole will not cease praying God to grant him the grace to be a good and able instrument for this so

* Cristoforo del Monte, cousin of Pope Julius III. See Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 306, 307.

† Mention of this legation is made in the Foreign Calendar 1553–1558 (October 27th 1553), in a letter from Dr. Wotton to the Queen.

‡ In the MS. from which I am translating, the name is written San Saluto in abbreviation of San Salvatore; an abbacy held by a Piedmontese gentleman, Cavaliere Vincenzo Parpaglia. (See Pallavicino, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, vol. iii. p. 288; ed. Faenza, 1793.)

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salutary a work, for the honour of God and general benefit of all Christendom.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

800. CARDINAL POLE to the CONSTABLE OF FRANCE [ANNE DE MONTMORENCY].

The Pope has given him this new appointment of Legate for the peace, to the Emperor and the most Christian King. Would that it were possible for him to be with both their Majesties at one and the same time; but being already on his way to Flanders, he has thought fit in the meanwhile to send the bearer of the present letter, the Abbot of S. Saluto, to his Majesty. Has desired the Abbot to avail himself of the Constable's mediation and favour, for his communications with the King, on which he relies for the promotion of a work so beneficial for all Christendom.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

801. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF ST. GEORGE [GIERONIMO CAPODIFERRO, Legate in France].

Immediately on being informed of the new legation assigned him by the Pope and the Sacred College, he proceeded on his way towards Flanders with all speed; and in the meanwhile is sending the Abbot of San Saluto to his Majesty. The Abbot is the bearer of the present letter, and Pole has desired him to apply to the Cardinal of St. George, for such information and suggestions as may be anticipated from his prudence and experience of the business.

From Trent, 2nd October.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

802. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL FARNESE.

Cardinal Farnese assures Pole, in his most affectionate letter, that the grief caused him by the dire catastrophe (*dell' acerbissimo caso*) which befell his brother Duke Oratio, was somewhat mitigated by what he heard of the prosperous events in England. Pole in like manner heard the two events simultaneously, and the deep regret felt by him for the one for a long while modified his joy for the other, to the surprise of those who were with him at the time; and if he has so long delayed endeavouring to console the Cardinal and himself, it was not from lack of his constant wish to do so, nor from his having failed frequently to make the attempt. This involuntary silence is now followed by the great satisfaction derived by Pole from the expression of the Cardinal's sincere affection, and his belief that it is reciprocated. Pole also rejoices to hear from him how much the prosperous and miraculous events in England have gratified the King of France, on account of the service of God and of the Church, as he had heard through another channel. Is very certain that the Cardinal does his utmost to encourage the King to

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use his great authority in England, for the advantage of the cause of God and of his Church. Would wish to see the Emperor and the King united in so glorious an undertaking. Will endeavour with all his might to exhort them accordingly; and the legation [in England] assigned him by the Pope, will render it necessary for him to confer with their Majesties, concerning which he wrote lately to Cardinal Farnese and to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

From the monastery "del Isola," 28th October (*sic*) [28th September 2-1553.

Delayed sending the foregoing letter, that he might be able to write more positively about his departure towards Flanders, which decision has arrived unexpectedly, the Pope having now assigned him this new legation for the purpose of endeavouring to make the peace; so he immediately commenced the journey, and after having been with the Emperor, will proceed forthwith to the Court of France. In the meanwhile, is sending his Abbot (*mio Abbate*) [Parpaglia] to the King, and has charged him expressly to take the Cardinal's prudent and loving counsel, on which Pole relies much by reason of Farnese's great experience in similar negotiations.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date in MS.

803. CARDINAL POLE to the NUNCIO [PROSPERO]* SANTA CROCE [in France].

The Pope having assigned him this new charge to continue the negotiation for peace between the Sovereigns, and being already on his way to the Emperor, he has determined to send his Abbot of San Saluto in advance, to his most Christian Majesty, with such commission as the Nuncio will learn from him. Requests Santa Croce to give the Abbot all necessary assistance for the benefit of the cause; and for further particulars refers himself to the Abbot.

[Trent, 2nd October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

804. THE SAME to the CARDINAL OF MANTUA.

Having quitted Maguzzano with the intention of proceeding towards Flanders to perform his first legation about the affairs of England, he wrote to the Cardinal that this legation comprised two objects, the chief of which was the mission to the Queen, the other his conference with the Emperor and the King of France; and that as the road to the first was not then open, he purposed having recourse (*de recorere*) to the other, and being unable to rest on the right side to try the left. But scarcely had he reached the Island of the Lake, when a messenger [Commendone] arrived from the Legate Dandino, which caused him to halt; and whilst suspecting that the second road likewise would be barred him, news

* The christian name of the Nuncio is given in Pallavicino (vol. iii. p. 281). He must not be confounded with the Cardinal Santa Croce.

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arrived of the new Legation which the Pope and the Sacred College have been pleased to assign him, so that the conference with the Emperor and France, which was at first accessory, has now become the principal object. So he immediately set out for Trent, where he arrived on the day before yesterday, being received by the Cardinal-Bishop as affectionately as the Cardinal of Mantua may imagine, and to morrow purposes continuing his journey. Will not say more about his last news from England, referring himself to the bearer of the present letter, Messer Gio. Paulo Scaino, whom he sends on account in great measure of his good parts and qualities, and also loves him so much the more because he knows him to be the devoted and affectionate servant of the Cardinal of Mantua; and seeing him anxious to serve the Cardinal professionally, as he did heretofore, Pole writes to his Lordship, not so much to recommend him, being convinced he has no need of recommendation, as that the Cardinal may know that in like manner as Pole considers Scaino very well worthy of this grace, so will he consider it a favour done to himself.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

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805. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Since the very agreeable (*gratissima*) news received by him of her Majesty's successes, he has already written twice* by two separate messengers, congratulating her, as he does constantly in his heart, as also the whole kingdom and the entire Church, on her miraculous exaltation to the throne; giving her moreover notice that his Holiness, on receiving such joyful intelligence, immediately created him Legate, to congratulate her in the Pope's name,† and at the same time gave all such faculties for the dispensation of favours, as would enable him in the present case to comfort her Majesty's pious and religious mind, with which everybody is convinced she has been endowed by the goodness of God for the benefit of the kingdom and of his entire Church. Although Pole has received no reply to those letters,‡ he is nevertheless moved to write this third letter to her Highness, owing to the reply received by him from the Emperor to his congratulations on the same subject. He also acquainted the Emperor with his legation to the Queen, which had no other end than to unite England to the head and to the entire body of the Catholic Church, on which union the establishment of the Queen's throne and the spiritual and temporal welfare and prosperity of the realm depend. He requested the Emperor to confirm the Queen in the pious and religious purpose which she doubtless entertained; and that he would aid it with his great prudence, so that all impediments being removed, the desired result might be obtained; he, Pole, as the instrument of his

* See letters dated 13th and 27th August 1553.

† See letter of the 13th August.

‡ The reply dated Westminster, 8th October 1553, was received by Pole at Dillingen on the 19th October 1553.

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Holiness, and as a member of that kingdom in which he was born, offering his best services in this cause (with due regard for the Pope, as also for the Emperor), to adjust the difficulties between the Apostolic See and England, for the benefit of both parties.

To this letter the Bishop of Arras [Antoine de Granvelle] replied by the Emperor's order, graciously returning thanks for the congratulations, and approving the Pope's election of Pole as Legate for this cause, and agreeing with Pole about ultimately uniting England to the Church, and rendering the due obedience to the Roman See; though he was not of opinion that it was yet time to attempt this, by reason of the many dangers which might arise at this commencement, as on no account are the people so ready to rebel as on that of religion. His Imperial Majesty therefore thinks it would be prudent for the Queen to delay this matter until well confirmed and established on her throne; and that Pole's legation should be deferred to another time, when the Emperor would do his utmost to obtain the desired result.

Such was the Emperor's answer to Pole's letter. Pole cannot deny that it was the answer of a prudent Prince, such as he is; and most especially of one who, having encountered so many difficulties from this same cause, has greater reason to weigh the dangers, in addition to his wish and anxiety (*desiderio e gelosia*) to see the Queen reign undisturbedly (*senza travaglio*). This the Queen can only interpret to mean that she should avoid whatever may give cause for tumult, as thus anticipated by the Emperor, which advice Pole would recommend her to follow, did he not clearly perceive that through the whole course of her life hitherto, both in this her accession to the Crown and on other occasions, she has always been guided by a greater light than could be given her by human prudence, and it being also manifest that the cause of the supremacy of the Roman Church is not of such a sort as to be treated with similar arguments based on human prudence; so he is more and more convinced that the counsel which it behoves the Emperor to give, as a prudent Prince friendly to the Queen, cannot reasonably be followed by her, for the cause already mentioned. That which would perhaps be less unbecoming in anybody else, could not but be most unfitting in the person of the Queen, when she calls to mind the great benefits received by her from God, and the light which his Divine goodness has always given her in matters of religion beyond that of any human prudence.

Amongst other things, she has here to remember the time when, by the iniquity of the rulers, the religion was so persecuted in England that from schism it fell to manifest heresy, the sacraments, especially the one styled "*sacramentum sacramentorum*," to which all the others are directed (*indirizati*), being abolished. At that time the Bishops of England, and many learned men, who refused their consent to such iniquities, were despoiled of their revenues and imprisoned; no one else having the courage to profess the true religion. If ever there had been a time for those who had regard for worldly honour, and for the preservation of their state (on which human prudence is always chiefly intent), to dissemble, it was then. Who had

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ever greater cause to act thus than the Queen—her brother being already perverted by his Governors, and she herself, by miracle, not following the same religion? When was her state ever in greater danger than then? Yet would she never allow herself to be vanquished in the least by their malice, although it had already reached such a pitch that her chaplains were imprisoned for having performed their office. What more could they do, unless it were to lay hands on her royal person? And still God gave her always that light and strength of mind which was needed, as oil to feed the light of true religion in her, to be seen by the rest of the kingdom (*per esser visto dal resto del regno*), as if it were the light of a lantern placed in a dark place when all other lights seemed put out, that the light in Israel might not be extinguished. This was the grace which at that time God gave her Highness, a light supernatural as it were, independent of all human foresight, guiding and not allowing her to fall, by concealing her true piety and religion, although the danger of her state was placed constantly before her eyes.

The divine grace therefore having preserved her most virtuous Highness's (*virtuosissima Madama*) light of religion and piety, as it were in a lantern, during such stormy times, will it be fitting—now that God has transformed that great tempest into such a calm, placing the government of the kingdom in the Queen's hands, and choosing as it were that the light which formerly burned dim in a lantern, (*in una lanterna*) be now placed *super candelabrum ut luceat omnibus*—to dissemble at such a moment the cause which concerns the union and obedience of the Church?—which obedience was abolished in England by human malice, at the commencement, together with the sacraments. What else would this be but to do contrary to what is said by Christ himself, who gave the Queen her light? "No man when he hath lighted a candle (*lucernam*) placeth it under a bushel, but on a candlestick (*candelabrum*), that it may give light to all who are in the house" (*ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt*).^{*} How could it be reasonable for the Queen to dissemble this cause of the union and obedience of the Church, and to hide this light under the bushel, Christ having placed her on the throne, that she might set it on a candlestick to be seen by the whole kingdom, and to give light to everybody? and how can it become her to do this from fear of turmoil, after having been freed by Christ from such manifest perils, when she was destitute of all human aid and protection, He showing that his hand is with her, and that it has dispersed the storm which was coming against her? The Queen (*nobelissima Madama*) should therefore consider what dishonour it would be for the Lord and spouse of her soul, if, having come to her, that she and all others might see him, her Highness were to turn back, lamp (*lampada*) in hand, as if it lacked oil, and she were going to the vendors to keep her light burning, although she had sufficient oil given her by favour

* St. Mark iv. 21., St. Luke xi. 33.

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of her said Lord and Spouse, who expects to be better seen and known by the light which his oil has hitherto fed, than by that light which may be fed with the oil sold in the shops of human prudence (*nelle botteghe della prudentia humana*).

If therefore the Queen considers well (as Pole does not doubt she will, much better than he can express it) what God has constantly done for her, she will immediately know what counsel it is best and most fitting for her to follow in this case. Nor does he give the warning because he believes it to be so very necessary, but rather because others counsel her to dissemble the point of the obedience and supremacy of the Church for a while, as he believes many do, and above all, the Emperor; but, the greater his prudence and the more he desires and favours the Queen's establishment, the less can he at first sight give her any other counsel than he has done. As his Imperial Majesty, by reason of his long and varied experience, sees and knows this danger of the Crown (*pericolo di Stato*), Pole's wish would be that the Queen, acknowledging, as she ought, such light as God has given her, should remove this fear from his mind, and encourage him with regard to that point about which he has not the heart to encourage her; doing this by means of the example already afforded by God in the Queen's own person, through his having released her from other greater dangers; that as it has hitherto been He who always defended and assisted her, because she never hid that light which His divine goodness had given her, so is it to be hoped that He will assist her much more at present, by reason of the greater honour and service which will thence redound (*ritornare*) to his Divine Majesty, especially as that light shall be diffused and seen by all men, through the sublime station (*sublime luogo*) in which God has placed her.

With regard to this matter the Queen might make it clear to his Majesty how the Divine goodness has provided for the removal of well-nigh all the difficulties which he fears may arise on proposing in the first Parliament the affair of the supremacy of the Church, as the whole body of the Parliament consisting of the people, the Lords, and the ecclesiastics, should any of those three estates raise any difficulty, it will proceed from that one, which, by the suppression (*esclusione*) of the obedience of the Church has derived thence and continues to derive emolument; this estate being but one of the three, and forming but a small minority. From the other two estates, not only is no difficulty or opposition whatever to be apprehended with regard to this cause, but they may, on the contrary, be reasonably expected to give it all favour and assistance, the ecclesiastical estate having always suffered for this cause both in their honour and property; the people, in like manner, having suffered very great detriment, as since the abolition of the obedience of the Church, they have been more and more oppressed daily. With regard to the estate of the temporal nobility, which seems to have derived some profit and advantage from the disobedience to the Roman Church (*dalla desobedientia della Chiesa Romana*), besides their not being many in number, as already stated, the majority of them are those

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who hold possession of their property by the Queen's graciousness and clemency; so from the gratitude due to her, if not on any other account, it cannot be supposed that they alone will oppose the royal will, and what is in like manner required for the benefit and establishment of the Queen's right to the Crown, which, without this act, might always be disputed, on the plea of its being schismatic.

If Pole be worthy to obtain any favour from the Queen respecting what he desires and demands, solely for the honour of God, and for the Queen's own advantage, and that of the entire kingdom, he would humbly request her to tranquillize the Emperor on this point before Pole's arrival at his Court, he being now appointed Legate to him and to the King of France by the Pope, in addition to his first Legation to the Queen, to negotiate peace between their Majesties, for the quiet and advantage of all Christendom. Were Pole, therefore, by the Queen's means, to find the Emperor relieved from the fear which renders him averse to the discussion in the first Parliament of the matter of the "obedience" and the "supremacy of the Church," Pole knows how much it would conduce to the speedy success of what is desired.

Respecting the time of the meeting of Parliament, which the Emperor considers unsuited to the negotiation of this business, the Queen has to consider whether any other time could be so proper, so suitable, and so necessary for the proposal of this measure as that of the first session of Parliament, and how it could accord with her obligation to God, with the love she bears her own kingdom, and with the establishment of her throne (*stato*), that—it being the ancient custom of the realm for the first Parliament of a new reign to reform all the acts of injustice perpetrated by past rulers, and make good provision for the future—so great an injustice as that of the disobedience of the Church, causing such calamity and affliction to the kingdom that the like never befel it from any enemy, should be passed over in silence, and without being put forward, most especially as on such an occasion a good resolution is necessary to remove any sort of opposition which might hereafter be made to the Queen's just title to her Crown, which, so long as she can be reproached with the name of schismatic, will always be liable to some attack.

Pole therefore assures the Queen (*nobilissima Madama*) that any person pondering the matter well, will perceive that for the honour of God, for the welfare of the Church, and for the establishment of her own Crown, this cause cannot be allowed, as may be done with regard to many others relating to civil justice, to pass without being treated in the first Parliament; and this is the point about which many persons deceive themselves, from not well understanding the quality of this cause, treating it as a civil one, such as is wont to be treated according to human prudence, whereas it is quite of another sort. Nor has it even to be debated in Council, whether obedience to the head of the Church should be acknowledged or not, as that has been already determined by the council of God. But in the royal Council, the Queen has merely

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to make manifest her debt to God and His Church; and as this encounters many difficulties on account of those who, whilst assenting to the measure, fear the loss of their property, human prudence is therefore required whereby to find means for the removal of similar obstacles. And this is what Pole asked of the Emperor, that he would use his influence with the Pope, as supreme arbiter and moderator of all these and similar matters, and be mediator, thus demonstrating his love for the Queen, so that this cause might be duly and maturely concluded with greater satisfaction to all parties; and in like manner as it was Pole's opinion that it became the Emperor's honour to assume this person of mediator, so has the Queen just reason to make this demand of his Imperial Majesty, who, by accepting it, can but derive great honour thence with little difficulty, the Pope being so much inclined to gratify the Queen and the kingdom, that nothing could be demanded for her own consolation and the benefit of the realm, and all its inhabitants, which his Holiness is not ready to grant. To this none can bear more ample testimony than Pole himself, by reason of the very full powers which he has received from the Pope in this cause. If the Emperor proceed thus in this business at the Queen's request, its conclusion will be easy, honourable, profitable, and agreeable to all parties.

From Trent, the 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

806. CARDINAL POLE to EDWARD COURTENAY, Marquis of Exeter.

The greater the joy felt by Pole internally for his cousin's release from distress and imprisonment, and for the recovery of his state and property, the less able is he to express it externally by words to his satisfaction, though his love for Courtenay will not allow him to omit demonstrating it as he best may by letter; nor can his congratulations on Courtenay's individual good fortune be complete, unless they include those for the common weal, which God has granted to England, and on which Courtenay's personal welfare depends; in like manner as no one can rejoice at any good fruit without rejoicing at the tree which produced it, and also with the planter of that tree. In the present case, the tree is the goodness of the Queen, who has been placed on the throne by the miraculous hand of God, for the consolation of all lovers of virtue and piety, and most especially of those who have suffered on that account. That the Queen by this first fruit of her justice should have relieved Courtenay from such unjust oppression, cannot but give great pleasure to all those who see and hear of it; above all, because he is the flower of the ancient nobility of England which its adversaries sought especially to destroy root and branch. This is the first joy felt by Pole at so gracious an act performed by the Queen, and it is common to many others; but Pole's personal joy proceeds from the singular love which he bears Courtenay, not solely from the natural

1553.

ties of kindred, but by reason of the affection and love which Courtenay's most illustrious father always evinced both towards Pole and his brother; and the late Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montacute having been so linked by God in sincere affection throughout their lives, He would not at the last hour allow them to be separated, both dying together for the same cause,* which was that of God, the most noble and glorious of any.

But to return to what was said about the love of Courtenay's father for Pole, he mentions the following pledge (*pegno*). On Pole's last departure from England [for Avignon, in 1531], he was the last English nobleman with whom Pole spoke, being invited to go and see him, as he was then sick; and the first words uttered to him by the Marquis were, "Lord Cousin Pole, your departure from the realm at this present time, shows in what a miserable state we find ourselves. It is to the universal shame of all us nobles, who allow you to absent yourself, when we ought most to avail ourselves of your presence; but being unable to find any other remedy for this, we pray God to find it himself." These were the last words he ever said to Pole, which, proceeding as they did from the cordial love he bore him, Pole has always treasured in his heart; and this causes him to rejoice at all the good fortune of England, most especially as it shows yet more clearly that the remedy for which he said they must pray to God has already arrived, in such a form that the whole world can see that it proceeded solely from Divine providence, which ordained that as the misery of that period, and all that ensued subsequently, came through a woman, so should reparation come through a virgin, their gracious Queen.

Courtenay will thus clearly know the double cause which Pole has for his joy and comfort at all Courtenay's prosperity; and the third cause of his rejoicing, and which confirms both the others is, that he hears from many persons who know Courtenay, and are of sound judgment, that during the whole period of his tribulation, although under bodily imprisonment, and utterly deprived of his revenue, all his estates being confiscated, yet did he nevertheless comfort himself in such a way, that so far as his tender age in so hard a case could demonstrate, it was clearly manifest that the nobility of his mind and the imitation of his father's virtues, the greatest inheritance that a father can leave his son, were never imprisoned nor taken from him. This is a very great comfort to all who have regard for his honour; and seeing him already arrived at years of discretion, and by the Providence of God, and by means of her most gracious Majesty, set at liberty, they firmly hope also to see and enjoy the mature fruits of his virtue in all things relating to the honour of God, and of his Holy Church, for the consolation in the first place of his mistress supreme (*vostra suprema signora*), and secondly, of all the friends of his true honour and prosperity, amongst whom Pole considers himself one who does not give way to any other. In conclusion, recommends himself to his most illustrious cousin and

* On Tower Hill, 9th January 1540.

1553.

Lord until such time as it shall please God to make the road for him, and open the door, so that he may personally congratulate Courtenay, whom he requests to perform the like due office in Pole's name, cordially and affectionately, with his most illustrious mother.*

Is writing this letter on his way to Germany, towards the Court of the Emperor, to whom and to the King of France conjointly he has been sent as Legate by the Pope, to treat the peace between them. Hopes the Almighty will vouchsafe to grant it, for the consolation and benefit of all Christendom.

From Trent, 2nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x

807. QUEEN MARY to CARDINAL POLE, translated [into Italian] from the English.

Good Cousin, and most blessed Father in Christ.

The bearer of the present letter, his secretary,† consigned to her Pole's letters, whereby she clearly understood the continuance of his usual entire (*intiero*) love and zeal, with regard to England, his native land, and its true heirs, and the declaration of his joy at what it has pleased the Almighty to do in demonstration of his justice and mercy towards her. She considers herself not a little obliged to Pole for his good warning (*avertimento*), as understood by his letters; for which advice, even were he not joined to her by nature as he is, she should nevertheless be bound to return him most cordial acknowledgments, assuring him that,—through the assistance of the grace of God, to whom she feels very much bound to render the most humble thanks for this—she never was, nor is, and hopes of His mercy she never shall be, opposed to Pole's good and spiritual exhortation, as contained in his said letters. With regard to her obedience and due devotion towards the Church of Christ, and her spiritual mother, his Catholic and Apostolic Church; the bearer, who can render good testimony,‡ will be able to inform Pole fully what pain the Queen feels from being unable as yet by any fitting means, to manifest the whole intent of her heart in this matter; but so soon as it shall be in her power, by any suitable and possible mode, to declare to the world her due and sincere intention (*animo*), and the obedience (*et l'obedientia*), by executing it thoroughly (*compitamente*), should it please God, she will not fail announcing this to Pole.

* Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy. (See Burke's Extinct Peerages, p. 147.)

† Henry Penning; see Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 294.

‡ Per il quale ancora che non foste congiunto meco per natura si com'è sete, Io non dimeno sarei obligata a rendervi cordialissimi ringratiamenti, assicurandovi per l'assistentia della gratia del Sigr. Idio al quale Io me sento obligatissima a render di ciò humilissime gratie che Io non mai fu ne sono, nè come in sua misericordia spero sarò mai contraria alla vostra buona e spirituale esortatione contenuta nelle ditte vostre lettere. Circa alla mia obbedientia e debita devotione verso la chiesa di Cristo e mia madre spirituale la sua Chiatolica et apostolica chiesa il portator di questo potrà poi a lungo informarvi il quale po esser bon testimonio.

1553.

And as to her coronation, his secretary will be able to tell him all the circumstances of it,* and many other things besides, with which she acquainted him, having full trust in the miraculous mercy of God, that this Parliament will abolish all those statutes which have been the origin in England of their afflictions (*piaghe*). She then hopes to obtain a general pardon from the Pope, to whom she prays Pole to render her most humble thanks for his multiplied goodness shown her at the present time, requesting his Holiness to persevere therein, and forthwith to pardon her the offences already committed; and remaining in good hope through Pole's medium and procurement, he having given her such just cause to consider herself well assured of his friendship, she recommends him to the Holy Spirit, praying it to remunerate him for his courtesy shown her in this cause; and thus with her most cordial recommendations will she end.

In our Palace of Westminster, 8th October 1553.

[*Italian.*][†]

Oct. 19.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

808. CARDINAL POLE to MESSER CARLO GUALTERUZZI.

Condoles with him on the death of his son Messer Goro, as heard by letters from Messer Gio. Francesco whilst Pole was in joy and gladness at Dillingen; but as the same letters purported that he made a Christian end, and that Gualteruzzi bore it with Christian resignation, Pole consoled himself, and considered it well nigh an act of Divine Providence that Gualteruzzi, foreseeing as it were the catastrophe, was moved to demand the favour of the "*motu proprio*," so that his office might not lapse; which favour, Messer Gio. Francesco writes, will be granted by the Pope without any difficulty, and Pole has charged him if necessary again to petition his Holiness warmly in Pole's name. For the rest he refers himself to their (*nostro*) Monsignor Priuli, and exhorts Gualteruzzi to resign himself to the will of God.

From Dillingen, 19th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date in MS.

809. The SAME to the CARDINAL OF TRENT.

Whilst waiting here [at Dillingen] (*mentre che io stava qui aspettando*) for the safe-conducts from the Duke of Würtemberg and the Count Palatine, the first messenger [Henry Penning] sent by him to England, arrived with letters from the Queen written to him in her own hand, the copy of which the Cardinal will see, as also of a letter written to Pole by Fiordibello from the [Imperial] Court. From this messenger the Cardinal of Trent will hear additional

* The coronation had taken place on the 1st of October. (See Froude, vol. vi. p. 101, ed. 1860.) This letter was received by Pole at Trent on the 19th October.

† As stated in the heading, the letter was translated from the original English, and this is evidently the letter to which Pole alluded when writing to the Queen from Dillingen, on the 1st December 1553, and complaining of her having then written to him "*latino sermone et non patrio, quo scient principes cum suis agere, sive scribant, sive loquantur, quo etiam ipsa paucis ante diebus ad me scripserat, equidem non potui non mirari.*" A Latin version of the letter exists in Quirini's 4th vol., pp. 429, 430, without any mention of its having been translated from the English.

1553.

news, both of English affairs and of the Imperial Court, towards which, God willing, Pole will proceed on the day after tomorrow. Hopes in the meanwhile to receive the safe-conduct from the Palatine, in like manner as he has received the one from the Duke of Würtemberg, by means of the Cardinal of Augsburg, of whose courteous and affectionate reception of Pole it is needless for him to speak. Is of opinion that Divine Providence supplied him with the Cardinals of Augsburg and of Trent, as with two great and necessary aids and references (*aiuti et indirizzi*) in this business. Providence has also decreed that in like manner as in the house of the Cardinal of Trent, he received the first good news from England, so should the second reach him here at Dillingen.

Thus far Pole has availed himself of the services of Messer Giovanni Giacomo, who was sent to him, according to the orders of the Cardinal of Trent, by the Bishop elect (*da Monsr. eletto*). Is much satisfied with his management, and would have trusted to him for the rest of the journey, had not the Cardinal of Augsburg thought it desirable that Pole should take one of his people, who is very conversant with each individual place through which he has to pass as he proceeds on his way. Is therefore sending Messer Giovanni Giacomo back, together with the mules, one of which he has taken the liberty to retain.

Supposes that on the arrival of this letter his nephew* will be already on the road, but should his indisposition detain him with the Cardinal of Trent it is unnecessary for Pole to recommend him further, knowing with how much courtesy he always considers Pole and all he has recommended to him. Refers him for the rest to the bearer of this letter, and humbly kisses his hands.

[Dillingen, 20th October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

810. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DEL MONTE.

Wrote to the Cardinal when about to quit Trent, and then came on here to Dillingen, where they were received by the Cardinal of Augsburg as lovingly and courteously as could be desired, and by good fortune there met the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino] with whom he remained a day. Was compelled to stay five days more waiting for the safe-conduct from the Duke of Würtemberg and from the Count Palatine, which last he has now received; so tomorrow, God willing, he will proceed towards Spire, where he thinks of embarking. Yesterday he was joined by the first messenger sent by him to England [Henry Penning], who will be the bearer of the present letter, Pole having thought fit to send him to the Pope that he may give his Holiness full account of the affairs of England; and to him he also refers the Cardinal, kissing his hands.

From Dillingen, 20th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

* Thomas Stafford?

1553.

Oct. 21.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

811. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Wrote to his Holiness from Trent, enclosing copy of a letter written to him by his messenger in England [Henry Penning], and Pole having come on subsequently to Dillingen, where he has been compelled to remain, awaiting the safe-conduct from the Duke of Würtemberg and from the Count Palatine, has been joined by this messenger, who has returned from England. Thinks it fit to send him express to the Pope, that he may give him full account of everything, and he will also bring a copy of the autograph letter written to Pole by the Queen.* Congratulates the Pope with his whole heart, for that the Lord God vouchsafes more and more daily to favour his excellent intention with regard to this holy work, as it may be hoped he will continue to do until the end, to the glory of his Divine Majesty, to the benefit of Christendom, and to the especial advantage of his Holiness's pontificate. As Pole believes that this messenger [Henry Penning?] may reach Rome before the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino], he will not omit to tell the Pope that he met him, and that they remained together a day. The Cardinal of Imola did not deceive himself in the least about the way in which the first announcement of Pole's second legation to the Imperial Court would be received, as the Pope will perceive by the copy of the letter from Fiordibello, which he is sending to his agent.† Leaves it to the Pope's extreme prudence whether it shall seem expedient—as it would seem to him, Pole—not to allow the Queen's letter to circulate (*di non lasciar uscire fuori la lettera della Regina*); and for the rest he refers himself to the messenger's statement humbly kissing the feet of his Holiness, whom he prays God long to preserve for the benefit of his Church.

From Dillingen, 21st October 1553.

PS.—The farther Pole proceeds on his way towards England, the more clearly does he perceive what a stormy sea he has to traverse. Thus far he has been on the mainland, always in the midst of friends. Has now to commence traversing the towns of the Lutherans, and although provided with a safe-conduct, yet is it notorious how ill affected they are towards the Pope by whom he is sent, and towards the object of his mission. In the next place, he has to pass through places which are almost all suspected of plague and infected with it, according to general report, and through the towns of the Count Palatine. Should these obstacles, by God's grace, be overcome, it will remain for him to encounter the Imperial Court, a gulf as it were of the sea, from which hitherto a very contrary wind seems to blow, to say nothing more of the opposition he will meet with in England, should it please God that he arrive there. Writes this to the Pope for no other reason, than to show him how much need he has of the Divine assistance, there being nothing else on earth to comfort him, save the pious disposition (*la pia mente*) of his Holiness who sends him, and of the Queen to whom he is sent; and to pray the Pope to help

* Copia della lettera che la Regina mi ha scritta di mano propria.

† Che Io mando il (sic) [al?] mio agente; namely, the agent of Cardinal Pole at Rome.

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him to obtain that assistance by his prayers, and to have the like done by others, for this so great a need. With the sure hope of being thus assisted, he will speedily and willingly continue his journey, trusting that by these means the ship will be piloted by the Lord God, the director of all his Holiness's actions, for his glory, for the benefit of his Church, and for the consolation of all mankind.

From Dillingen, 21st October 1553.

[Italian.]

Oct. 21.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

812. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF TRENT.

The Cardinal of Trent will have heard from the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino] in what good quarters Pole and he met, and what little else Pole learnt from him about the affairs of the Imperial Court. May it please God to show by experience that in these matters what seems impossible to man, is easy to Him, *in cujus manu sunt corda regum*.

Has taken the liberty not only to make use thus far of the mules of the Cardinal of Trent, but moreover to keep one for the rest of the journey, sending him back the others, and thanking the Cardinal as much as he can, but not as much as he ought, for this, in addition to so many other acts of courtesy. As the Cardinal of Augsburg thinks Pole should have one of his people very conversant with all those places through which he has to pass, and well known in them, he has therefore thought fit to send back Messer Gioan Giacomo, who was sent him on the road by the Cardinal's "Bishop elect," according to his order; he performed all possible good service, and Pole would have taken the liberty to take him with him for the rest of the journey, had it been necessary. Requests the Cardinal, for Pole's sake, to hold Messer Gioan Giacomo dearer than ever.

Dillingen, 21st October 1553.

[Italian.]

Oct. 21.?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date in MS.

813. REPORT to be made to the POPE by the messenger* returned from England [Henry Penning].

To state to his Holiness, first of all, what I said to the Queen at the first audience, concerning the joy felt by his Holiness on receiving the news of Her Majesty's auspicious accession, together with the offers made to her by his Holiness for her own consolation, and the salvation of souls in that kingdom, and about the legation to which my Right Reverend Cardinal had been appointed, and the ample powers given him by his Holiness in this legation; and the reply of the Queen, who said she had always been most obedient and most affectionate towards the Apostolic See, and that "*interiamente*" his Holiness had no more loving daughter than herself (*non haveva*

* This "report" bears no date of time or place in the manuscript, but was evidently drawn up at Dillingen on the 20th or 21st of October 1553, by Cardinal Pole's messenger or secretary, Henry Penning, who probably arrived in London early in September, and remained there a month. This date is confirmed by the notes to Pallavicini (vol. iii. p. 294), which also state that the messenger sent by Pole to Rome, was charged to recall Penning then on his way to the Pope, but of this I find no note in the MS. in St. Mark's Library.

1553.

figliuola più affezionata di lei), and that within a few days she hoped to be able to show it openly to the whole world; and that thus far, she thanked our Lord God that she had never consented in any way to the heresies and impious laws made and published in England of late years, but had always been, and would continue, firm in that same religion in which she had been educated from her girlhood, as she hoped in a few days to show his Holiness and the whole world; but that it was first necessary to repeal and annul by Act of Parliament many perverse laws made by those who ruled before her.

And because this Parliament could not be held before the coronation, such being the custom of the realm, while she wished to be absolved by the Right Reverend Cardinal [Pole], as Legate from your Holiness—and the Bishop [of Winchester, Gardiner], who was to crown her, also knowing that ceremony ought to be preceded by the general reconciliation to Holy Mother Church—she charged me for this purpose immediately to send an express to his Right Reverend Lordship, which could reach him before the day of the coronation, so that on that day her Majesty might remain with her conscience at ease, and believe herself absolved; and thus did I promise and do. And her Majesty talking of the delight and pleasure felt by her at being Queen, said to me fervently, that did she not believe herself called by God to that dignity, in order to be of some use to this poor country, she would rather elect to be her laundry-maid's servant-wench (*che se non fusse che lei credeva di esser chiamata da Dio a quella dignità per fare qualche utile a questa povera patria, che più tosto ellegerebbe esser serva della sua lavanderia*). And speaking about the Bishop of Winchester who was to crown her, and of the few other Catholics now there, her Majesty wished them also to be absolved, that they might be able to say mass and administer the sacraments without sin, until able to have the general absolution.

To this I answered her Majesty as God inspired me—neither my learning nor my experience being more than enough (*non havendo nè lettere nè pratica più che tanto che fa*),—that I had always heard say, that the Holy Mother Church absolved and pardoned those alone who had repented them of their errors, and resolved no longer to commit them; but not that his Holiness would absolve those who persevered in their errors. In reply to this, her Majesty said to me that the Sig. Commendone had well nigh promised it her;* and this her Majesty charged me to keep secret.

The Queen then desired me to await the coronation, as when that was over, she should be better able to despatch me, and more to her own satisfaction and to mine; seeming to have some suspicion of tumult and also of some personal danger; having on that solemn occasion to pass through a crowd, containing no lack of malignants, both Londoners and countrymen; there being also many of the new religion in the government (*come molti ve ne sono della religione nuova governo (sic) [nel governo?]*), who foresee (*prevedendo*) that it is her Majesty's intention utterly to extirpate this pestiferous

* Commendone seems to have left London on the 23rd August: see Pallavicini, vol. iii. p. 291.

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contagion; so they do not fail forming all possible evil designs, though, with God's assistance, they will not accomplish anything: and the less will such persons succeed, they being vile and of low condition (*et tanto manco faranno queste tali persone, per esser vili et di bassa conditione*).

Thus, by the grace of God, she was crowned without disturbances, and to the great joy of the majority of the people. And that solemnity being ended, she again had it intimated to me that I was to delay my departure for four or five days, on account of the many matters she had to treat. During that interval Parliament met, being opened on the 5th [instant]; when the Bishop of Winchester made a very fine speech, in which he treated amply of the union of the religion, and that it should be resumed (*nel quale trattava amplamente dell' unione della religione et che si dovesse retornare . . . a quella (sic)*), without which nothing good could be done; demonstrating how many disadvantages had befallen the realm owing to its separation (*mostrando quanti inconvenienti erano intervenuti in quel regno per la separatione di essa*). He accused himself and all the bystanders (*astanti*) as guilty of it, telling them that Parliament was assembled by her Majesty and Council to repeal (*cancellare*) many iniquitous laws made against the said union, and to enact others in favour of it. On the following Saturday, the 7th of October, her Majesty informed me that matters had proceeded well; as in the Parliament she had found many of the chief personages of the kingdom who encouraged her to push the affairs of the religion and of the union; whilst others were of opinion that she had greater need of curb than spur.

Her Majesty did not impart her negotiations with me to any of the Lords of the Council, nor to any one else; having previously ordered me to conceal myself, as I did. Her Majesty's final decision about my despatch was that his Right Reverend Lordship [Cardinal Pole] was to come leisurely (*pian piano*) towards Brussels, where he would hear further what could be hoped about his proceeding farther; and she promised me letters for the Right Reverend Cardinal by the hands of the Bishop of Arras at Brussels, from her fear lest they should be seized on my quitting England either by her ministers, or by the French. Her Majesty gave me the copy of the oath taken by her at the coronation, which she had thoroughly considered beforehand, and added a few words having for object to maintain her Majesty's integrity and good-will (*alcune parole che furno al proposito per la conservatione della integrità e buona mente di Sua Maesta*); as may be seen by the identical copy. Her Majesty also told me she had given commission to the Knights of . . . * to hold a chapter for the re-establishment of all the due ceremonies relating to the honourable dignity of that Order, which consist in the saying of certain masses, and confessing themselves at certain seasons, and celebrating the festival of St. George, according to their original institution. Her Majesty also

* Blank in MS., "the Garter" being omitted.

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showed me the holy oil, which she had sent to obtain at Brussels from the Emperor.

[Dillingen, 21st October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

814. CARDINAL POLE to PIER FRANCESCO ZINI.

What he had not time to tell Zini by word of mouth at Trent, he now says to him by letter. Exhorts him not to cease residing on his benefice although his friends advise him to the contrary, asks his prayers.

When Zini writes to the most noble Pietro Contarini, he is to salute him in Pole's name, and say how much he regrets Contarini's having arrived at the moment of Pole's departure [from Trent?]; and in such bad weather that Pole could not allow Contarini to keep him company on the road for a few miles. Requests the prayers of Contarini, and of all those poor servants of God of whom Contarini has such good care. Wishes Contarini to divide the present year's surplus revenue (*l'augumento*) of Pole's abbacy into two parts, one to remain in Contarini's hands for distribution amongst the poor, remembering the priests of St. Nicholas; the other half to be sent to Pole's Messer Gio. Francesco at Rome, for the same purpose.

From Dillingen, 22nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

815. The SAME to the CARDINAL OF TRENT.

Not choosing to commence either by returning thanks or complaining of the too great courtesies received throughout this journey from the Bishop elect [of Trent] by commission from the Cardinal, having great cause to do both one and the other, it merely remains for him to pray God, and the Cardinal likewise, to give him opportunity for serving his Lordship, in proportion to his desire and obligation. Through the occasion afforded by this journey Pole has had the very great pleasure of knowing the ability and virtue of this most high-bred gentleman, from whom the Cardinal may anticipate more and more consolation daily; and thus may it please God that he prove, to his service and glory. For the rest, he refers himself to the Bishop elect, and humbly kisses the Cardinal's hand. Yesterday evening Pole's Master Thomas* arrived at Dillingen, nor can he ever say enough about the great courtesies received from the Cardinal, and wishes Pole to be debtor for these likewise, to which he consents willingly, although Thomas, independently of other respects, deserves all favour for himself because he has always been most attached to the Cardinal of Trent.

[Dillingen, 22nd October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

* Query, the nephew alluded to in the letter dated 20th October, Thomas Stafford?

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Oct. 22.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

816. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF IMOLA [GHERONIMO DANDINO].

Whilst waiting at Dillingen for the safe-conducts from the Duke of Württemberg and the Count Palatine, his Master Henry (*Messer Henrico mio*) [Henry Penning] arrived with an autograph letter from the Queen, written with all piety and graciousness, the copy of which he is sending to the Pope by Henry [Penning?], that he may acquaint his Holiness fully with the affairs of England; and by the copy of the letter addressed to Pole by Fiordibello, the Cardinal of Imola will perceive that he did not deceive himself about the mode in which the first news of this second legation of Pole would be received at the Imperial Court. Prays God to dispose the minds of these Princes as necessary for the need and common weal; and referring himself for the rest to the bearer, kisses the Cardinal's hands.

From Dillingen, 22nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

817. The SAME to the CARDINAL MORONE.

Has long been anxiously awaiting news of his arrival at Rome, both that he may have more frequent letters from him, and also to receive such advice as he can promise himself about this so important a cause, from the piety and prudence of Cardinal Morone. Refers him for further intelligence to the bearer of the present letter and to his Messer Gio. Francesco (*et a Messer Gio. Francesco mio*).

From Dillingen, 22nd October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

818. The SAME to the MASTER OF THE SACRED PALACE [GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI].

Would have much to say were he to thank him adequately for his great charity with regard to the present business, which is he hopes well advanced (*bene incaminato*); requests the Master's prayers, and refers him for further particulars to Messer Gio. Francesco. Leaves it at the Master's option to communicate the contents of Pole's letters to the Queen and the Bishop of Winchester to any personages of the Roman Court he pleases, relying on his piety and prudence. For the present he does not think it fitting to give copies of them to any one.

[Dillingen, 22nd October 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

819. The SAME to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By the quality of the person whom his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to send to Pole, more than by the Emperor's own letter, or by the statement of the said Don Juan [de Mendoza], he has understood the Emperor's desire and will (*desiderio e volontà*) about his stopping, until he knows what to do after hearing what

1553.

else his Majesty shall have intimated on this subject;* and although this proposal was on many accounts a surprise to him, nevertheless, following the Emperor's opinion, he has thought he could not do better than to remain in the meanwhile with the Cardinal of Augsburg at Dillingen, near which place he now is. Hopes it may please God that all this do prove in conformity with his Divine will, and to the honour and service of his Imperial Majesty, and that He will preserve and prosper him for the general benefit of all Christendom.

From Stayndeayn (*sic*),† 24th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

820. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Account of the communication made to him in the name of the Emperor by Don Juan de Mendoza.

Don Juan de Mendoza, having come to me and delivered his credentials from the Emperor, which I read, then commenced telling me about his commission, which in substance was this: That the Emperor, having heard both of the first legation as also of the second, could not but praise your Holiness's zeal, and choice of person (*et la elezione della persona*), but deemed the execution of both untimely, as his Majesty had fully informed the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino] on his departure, not knowing that I was on my way. On hearing this, he sent a courier to your Holiness with letters explaining the causes why I was on no account to proceed farther at present, and therefore he most earnestly exhorted and requested me to halt and await your Holiness's reply to what had been communicated to you by his Imperial Majesty, who considered this business of such importance that he had thought fit to send me this commission express by one of his councillors.

Such was the substance of what Don Juan said to me in a long speech to which, in reply, after demonstrating to him the account in which any suggestion and advice from the Emperor ought deservedly to be held, I said, that with regard to myself I should always be ready to do as exhorted by his Majesty, but that in this present instance it behoved me to have great respect for the duty of the person sustained by me, I being the Legate of your Holiness, from whom I had the express commission to go forward; so I did not see how I could now halt, unless acquainted with some new and extraordinary cause whereby to justify myself with your Holiness for not executing your first commission; so that if Don Juan had anything to tell me, I would willingly do what his Majesty proposed to me. He uttered many words, but nothing more in substance than had been already said and proposed repeatedly; so I replied that as he brought nothing further, I deemed it necessary to continue my journey, it seeming too disgraceful to me to interrupt it.‡

* Fin che io sappia quella che io faccia poi che haverò inteso quanto ella in questo proposito haverà fatto sapere di più.

† In the letter dated 27th October, it is stated that this place was situated three leagues from Dillingen.

‡ Parendomi troppo gran scandolo l' interromperlo.

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To this, he said that the other reasons and causes written to your Holiness had not been communicated by the Emperor to him; and when I still repeated that in order to be persuaded to act contrary to my commission, it would be fitting for some new and cogent reason to be assigned me for doing so, and that not hearing anything further I knew not how I could accede to his request, he merely said he prayed me to think better about it, and to my rejoinder, repeated the same arguments, all based on the maturity of the time (*la maturità del tempo*), of which he said the Emperor, being the prudent Prince he is, and near England, and anxious (as he said) about her affairs, was better able than anyone else to judge whether it had arrived. And as to the affair of the peace, the Emperor said that the former legates having been recalled so recently, it was not yet time to renew the negotiation; in addition to which, it seemed as it were a reproach to his Majesty, sending first to him, as if it was chiefly by his fault that the peace had not been effected; and Don Juan hence inferred that by proceeding farther I should damage both matters, whereas by waiting a while I might benefit them, expatiating much on the Emperor's bias towards the common weal, and his wish for some good resolve to be formed with regard to both causes, and especially about his Majesty's affection for me; and coming to the conclusion that his reply and demand were not because I was personally disagreeable to him, or that he did not wish success to the affairs of England and of the peace, but that for both one and the other of these matters he merely desired a fitting opportunity (*la debita maturità*). Nor did he now ask more of me than that for the execution of commissions respecting these two matters I would await sufficient time for the arrival of a reply from Rome, which would not exceed ten days or a fortnight.

I rejoined, directing my whole discourse to what he took for his chief basis about the maturity of the time (*la maturità*) for discussing these two matters; and with regard to that of England, I demonstrated by the same arguments used by me heretofore to your Holiness, not only that the time for treating it was come, but that it was already so ripe, that if they delayed moving it in this first Parliament, which has already commenced,* it would outlive its time, and rot like over-ripe fruit,† and that I must be pardoned, both because I am of the country, and because I know the custom of the realm, and the national character (*gli humori de quelli homini*), for presuming to have some knowledge of the ripeness of this business, and of the mode and time for treating it; and that I believed, were I in his Majesty's presence, it would be in my power to convince him that any delay in proposing and treating this cause by means of a Legate will greatly injure the desired result. As to the affair of the peace, I repeated that any time was good for treating it, and that the personal duty of your Holiness required that, although the Princes might refuse to listen to you, your Holiness, notwithstanding, should never cease

* The session opened on the 5th of October. (See Froude, vol. vi. p. 109, ed. 1860.)

† Et come frutto troppe maturo si verrebbe a guastare.

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insisting opportunely and inopportunely, most especially as no one could be importunate in endeavouring to prevent the disasters of war; and I ended thus, reminding him of his Majesty's honour, and of how great a scandal it would be in the eyes of the world on its coming to light that he had raised any obstacle to both one and the other of these matters.

At this point Don Juan interrupted me, saying that I ought not to take the thing in this sense, as if the Emperor did not choose these matters to have that good success which he desired most earnestly. I replied that in this I did not so much propound my own judgment, although I could not entertain any other opinion, as that of all Christendom, my legation not having been made in a corner so that it could remain concealed; and on its being heard that his Imperial Majesty had refused my coming (*recusata la mia venuta*), the necessary interpretation would be either that the person or the cause did not please him; and as both one and the other of the causes for which I am sent are so holy and praiseworthy, his Majesty ought well to consider what becomes his honour, and that I for my own part should consider it much less unbecoming to say that which his Majesty would not say, that he had never been satisfied with the person.* And I here commenced demonstrating that though princes, are in other respects superior to private individuals, their fame is more subject to the tongues and opinions of mankind, on which depend their repute, and thereon, very frequently, success and advantage in their negotiations.

In his reply to this, Don Juan again repeated that it was not because the person or the causes did not please the Emperor, but that his Majesty asked nothing but a little delay, and that it was fitting to refer to him, he being so prudent and exalted a personage, this decision about the maturity of the time, most especially as it was only a few days. I rejoined in such decorous form as becoming, coming to the conclusion that with regard to time, I might loiter on the road until the reply arrived; but that, according to my duty, I could not fail to continue my journey.

At length, finding me so averse to stop, Don Juan said that it would not displease his Majesty so much, were I to choose to loiter on the road, adding however that on arriving near the Court, I must halt at Liège, and there await the time appointed for my interview with the Emperor. I here showed how much more unfitting and indecorous it would be for me to be stopped when so near his Majesty, rather than at a distance; which would be, as if having had leave to go and speak to any body, entrance were denied me on arriving at the door, and I had to remain waiting outside; which thing I could not believe it was his Majesty's intention to do, he being so gracious and honourable a Prince as he is. Don Juan repeated that his Majesty, nevertheless, could not do otherwise, and, in short, that I had to decide the point of remaining for a few days either here, or at

* Sua Maestà deve guardar bene quel che conviene ad honore suo et che io per me haverei per molto manco inconveniente a dire quello che Sua Ma^a non voleva dire che la persona mai non li satisfacesse.

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Liège, or in some other place near the Court; and that he could not assure me when the Emperor would let me go to him.*

I asked him whether he had an express commission from his Majesty to tell me so. He replied that he was not indeed come to make protests; but that he was very certain, that for the reasons written to your Holiness by his Majesty, he was compelled to make the demand which he, Don Juan, had communicated to me in his name; and that by allowing some time to elapse, I should see how well affected his Majesty was, both towards myself individually and towards this cause, and how willingly he would embrace both one and the other. And insisting on a reply as to what I thought it necessary to do about stopping, he said how fitting it was, that such an Emperor should receive satisfaction with regard to a demand of such a sort. At length, having taken time to think about it, I formed my resolve, saying that as I found myself compelled to stop either here or near the Court, it seemed to me the lesser evil to await your Holiness's reply, remaining here with the Cardinal of Augsburg; and so, having only gone three leagues beyond, I returned to Dillingen.

Such is the substance of the conversations held by me with Don Juan; who more than once dropped a hint to me incidentally about the Queen's marriage, saying it seemed to him that this ought to precede everything else, then proceeding to civil justice (*alla giustitia civile*), and in the last place to those of the religion (*a quelle della religione*), and inquiring whether I was of the same opinion; to which I replied that I, together with himself, was of opinion that these three things should be accomplished, but that I thought it was fitting, first of all, well to regulate the affairs of the religion; secondly, those of civil justice; and finally, by the marriage, find means to preserve both one and the other. And when he said that the Queen, by marrying a native rather than a foreigner, might cause discontent amongst the English nobility, I merely said that they were matters worthy of great consideration. Nor did he proceed further with me, though indeed subsequently, with some of my attendants, he gave himself clearly to be understood that the Emperor purposed and hoped that the Queen would take the Prince his son for her husband; and this was to be settled in the present Parliament, which he well knew did not please many persons, who were in all ways endeavouring to thwart this marriage, although it would effect the quiet of England and of all Christendom.

From this, I comprehend that these difficulties about not allowing me to go forward, proceed from nothing else; and that until the business be accomplished according to the Emperor's desire, or his Majesty be altogether quite certain of being able to conclude it, he always will find means to prevent my going, being unable, from what I believe, to convince himself that I would assist him to place my country in the hands of a foreigner.†

* Quando l' Imperatore fusse per lasciarmi andar da lui.

† Non possendo esso per quanto io credo assicurarsi che io fussi per aiutarli in fare che la mia patria andasse in mano de un forestiero.

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And I also think, that he therefore would have preferred my going to Liège, both to make sure that your Holiness would not send me by another road, as also thus to find favour with those who are to support this wish of his. The matter seems to me in such a state that one can, as it were, do nothing but wait till his Majesty has well settled this point, and then, whatever the result may be, so far from impeding my journey, he will facilitate it;* and to pursue any other course would seem to me to be forcing things too much, and irritating the Emperor, with more fear of evil than hope of good.

This I have chosen to say, presupposing that your Holiness will wait to hear my opinion, which I however always refer to your consummate prudence and judgment, being most perfectly ready willingly to follow whatever order you shall give. What Don Juan told me the Emperor had announced to your Holiness is, I believe, that the Queen has written that I am not to go farther for the present, which she also wrote to my secretary [Henry Penning?], after he had quitted England, but presupposing that I had not yet set out; so the messenger told him that having heard I was already far on the road, he did not think it would be either decent (*decente*) or fitting to stop me. And this letter of the Queen's doubtless proceeds from the Imperialists, as after she had agreed with my messenger [Henry Penning] that it would be well for me to advance as far as Brussels, she said to him, "*It will be well to communicate this to the Emperor, letting him know that I have called the Cardinal,*" and as at that very hour the Imperial ambassadors were in the antechamber, and her Majesty immediately on his departure had them ushered in, there is no doubt of her having acquainted them with this; and hence arose the subsequent change on the part of her Majesty?

From Dillingen, 27th October 1553?

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

821. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Having on the day before received the safe-conducts from the Duke of Würtemberg and the Count Palatine, left Dillingen to continue his journey towards the Imperial Court; and being lodged in the evening at a place belonging to the Duke three leagues off, he during the night received a letter from the Cardinal of Augsburg, acquainting him with the arrival of Don Juan de Mendoza, sent express to Pole by the Emperor with letters and commissions of importance; so the Cardinal, on behalf of Don Juan, requested Pole to wait for him where he was, as he did. Don Juan arrived in the morning, and remained with Pole the whole day. From the

* Et allora in qualunque modo la cosa riesca non solo (sic) [non?] impedire ma sollicitare l'andata mia.

† Poichè ella hebbe concluso co' l' messo mio che fusse bene che io andassi inanzi fino a Bruselles, gli disse, "sarà bene comunicare questo con l' Imperatore facendolo intendere che io ho chiamato il Cardinale;" et essendo al' hora propria gli Amb^{ti} del Imp^{re} nell' anticamera, Sua Mtà subito che egli fu partito, li fece chiamare dentro, onde non è da dubitare che essa non comunicasse loro questa cosa, et di qui poi sia nata la mutatione della Regina.

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copy of the Emperor's letter, and from Pole's reply, as also from the minute of his conversation with Don Juan which he is sending to his Holiness, the Pope will be fully acquainted with the whole; and Pole hopes he will approve of his choice (as the lesser evil) of one of the two proposals made to him in this matter, most especially considering that whenever the Pope pleases, the other can be adopted, which is not the case with the first (*ma non così al contrario*). Refers himself for the rest to what is written, and to the statement of his messenger. Humbly kisses his Holiness's feet, praying God long to preserve and prosper him for the benefit of his Church.

From Dillingen, 27th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27.

822. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of MANTUA.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Having occasion to send the present messenger to Rome, to give notice to the Pope of the letter received from the Queen, as also of his stoppage at Dillingen, he has charged him to communicate both circumstances to the Cardinal, who will hear from him every other particular.

From Dillingen, 27th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28.

823. The SAME to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The more he considers this stoppage of his after having spoken with Don Juan de Mendoza, the less does it seem to him in accordance with the honour of the Apostolic See and of his Majesty, and with the obligation of the Queen to God and to her own advantage. Thinks it his duty to God and his Church, to his Majesty, and to the Queen, to communicate what occurs to him in this matter, not only to the Pope but to his Majesty and the Queen likewise, referring himself for the rest to the Emperor's sage consideration, and to what Pole said diffusely to Don Juan. With the Emperor he will speak but of this one point, that it seems immature at present to settle and treat this matter of the obedience of the Church, whereas Pole is of opinion that it may be injurious for the Queen's interests to delay it (which is the chief object of his being stopped), as the principal foundation of the Queen's right to the crown rests on the legitimacy of her mother's marriage, which depends on the Papal dispensation [of Julius II.]; so that by abrogating the authority of the Pope, the Queen's right to the crown is in like manner abrogated, and by deferring the establishment of the Papal authority in England, the establishment of the Queen's right to the crown is in like manner deferred; and thus it is evident that the first day Parliament commenced, the time commenced being mature for treating and establishing the obedience of the Church, and indeed had not the disobedience been confirmed by Act of Parliament, the time for establishing this point would have been not only before the meeting of Parliament, but even before the coronation. It therefore seems that the "maturity of the time" (*la maturità del tempo*) depends entirely on the arrival in England

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of the Papal Legate to confirm the Queen's right; and should her Majesty be of a contrary opinion, Pole respectfully beseeches the Emperor, of his prudence and authority, to let the Queen herself thoroughly comprehend how much this (independently of other respects) especially concerns her own welfare, which Pole is certain his Imperial Majesty has more at heart than any one else.

In the next place, with regard to Pole's second legation about the peace, the Emperor should consider that the detriment caused by the war between him and the King of France, being common to all Christendom, it is always the time to treat of peace, and by reason of his office the Pope is always bound to "knock at the door" by all means; and at present, by reason of the season of the year, the armies having gone into quarters, this time is most opportune for maturing this fruit.

As therefore he cannot see how it can in any way be expedient either for the affair of England or for that of the peace, in like manner as it can neither be honourable for the person of the Pope who sends him, nor for that of the Emperor to whom he is sent, that he should be detained midway at Dillingen, and prevented from entering the presence of his Majesty; so does he pray him to find means for speedily removing any impediment to his journey, that he may come to him forthwith to fulfil his legatine office and serve him in these two causes for the honour of God, for the general benefit of Christendom, and the personal advantage of the Queen, and for the increase of the honour of the Emperor, to whom in like manner as he feels himself very much obliged, so has he been, and ever will be, disposed to serve him, praying God long to preserve his Imperial Majesty, granting him all the consolation he desires, for the common weal and advantage.

From Dillingen, 28th October 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

824. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

The ambassador of the most Serene Queen having lately come into the College, after announcing the confirmation of his appointment in her Majesty's name, stated in very ample terms her good intention to maintain those friendly relations which have always existed hitherto between that most Serene Crown and the Signory, giving them particular account of the present state of English affairs, and of the good measures instituted by her Majesty for their prosperous progress, and principally with regard to the religion; all which having been heard with much mental satisfaction, desire him to thank her Majesty in their name for the loving office which she has performed with the Signory. To congratulate her Majesty on the prosperous events hitherto vouchsafed her by the Lord God, as matters have thus far been brought to that good pass in which they find themselves. As to the ambassador above-mentioned, to tell her Majesty that his confirmation has proved most agreeable to them, as in all his negotiations he has acted with prudence and address.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

1553.

Nov. 2.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

825. REPORT of the Piedmontese Gentleman Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto or San Salvatore, Secretary of Cardinal Pole, who sent him to the French Court from Trent, on the 2nd October 1553.*

Arrived in Paris on the 15th October; announced his commission to the Nuncio. The King [Henry II.], having already heard from Pole that he was appointed Legate to their two Majesties, was ready to give him (the Abbot) audience, and would be glad that Pole should come. On the 18th October, he went to Villers-Cotterets, where the King was, and applied to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who immediately presented him to his Majesty, to whom he delivered Pole's letter. The King replied that the Pope's election of Cardinal Pole pleased him, and that his coming would be most agreeable to him, and that he would embrace him as his good cousin and great friend; and he would be most cordially and honourably received in his kingdom. The Cardinal of Lorraine confirmed this assurance, adding that it was thought Cardinal Pole should come first to the King, and that this would please his Majesty, for no other reason than that he might see him and enjoy his company sooner. With regard to the peace, he said the King would always willingly listen to his Holiness and make the peace, provided the terms be reasonable, but that he would not condescend to anything unworthy, having shown to the world his means of defence and offence; therefore the Emperor must not hold to the articles lately proposed by him, which were inadmissible. The like was said to him by Cardinal Farnese, who added that their sole reason for wishing Cardinal Pole to come, was to benefit England, his Majesty being very desirous of aiding the re-establishment of religion there, and of reconciling England to the Apostolic See; wherefore Farnese exhorted Pole to come forthwith, as he would find the King most ready to perform every good office in this especial business (*in questo special fatto*).

On the 22nd [October] was despatched by the King with his reply to the Cardinal, and unasked his Majesty caused him to receive safe-conducts for Pole, should he have to pass through his kingdom, evincing the wish for him to come immediately. He in like manner received letters from the Cardinal of Lorraine and Cardinal Farnese; and on that same day departed towards Peronne and Cambrai, and entered Flanders, arriving at Brussels on the 24th without any opposition or impediment whatever. On hearing that Don Juan de Mendoza had been sent by the Emperor to Pole, to exhort him to stop until he had fresh advices from Rome from the Pope; thought it his duty to go to the Bishop of Arras, whom he acquainted with the commission received by him from his Cardinal to go to the King of France and tell him of the legation conferred on Pole for the negotiation of the peace between their Majesties, and with the King's reply, purporting that he would willingly listen to the Cardinal.

The Bishop expressed surprise at his having crossed from the French towns to those of the Emperor, it being expressly

* See entries under that date.

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prohibited for any one to pass; and he evinced some displeasure at this, and at length inquired whether he (the Abbot) wished to speak to the Emperor, or that the Bishop should acquaint him with his arrival, and with the reply received by him from the King of France. Answered he had no commission from his Cardinal to speak, nor to do anything else but return to him; and on hearing that the Emperor had sent to delay Pole's coming, thought he should not err in letting the Bishop know why he went to France, and the King's answer. Went that same day to Louvain on his own private business, and on his return again waited on the Bishop of Arras, to hear, as they had sent to stop Cardinal Pole, and as the French wished him to go first to them, whether the Emperor would think it fitting for him to go to France before coming to his Imperial Majesty, as Arras had told Antonio Fiordibello, Pole's agent, that the Emperor would have been better pleased had Pole gone first to the Court of France. The Bishop instantly said no; and that he (the Abbot) was to persuade Pole to follow the advice given him in the Emperor's name by Don Juan de Mendoza; and that were he to consent to stop until he received further instructions from his Holiness, it would greatly please his Majesty, who, as soon as he could, and in a few days, would let the Cardinal know when he could go to him and negotiate according to his commission. Thereupon he quitted Brussels, and arrived at Dillingen on the 2nd November 1553.

Dillingen, 2nd November 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
in MS.

826. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL SAN CLEMENTE.*

By reason of the virtue and merits of Messer Hieronimo da Imola, Doctor of Philosophy, resident since many years at Rome, Cardinal Pole has loved and respected him; and as the Cardinal San Clemente has always evinced courtesy and favour not only with regard to Pole's personal interests, but also respecting those of his friends and servants, he most earnestly requests him to afford Messer Hieronimo all such favour and assistance as he requires for the affairs of the University (*nelle cose del studio*), that his labours may be duly acknowledged; which Pole will consider an especial favour.

The bearer of this letter will acquaint Cardinal San Clemente with the latest news from England.

From Dillingen, [8th November 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

827. The SAME to the CARDINAL OF CARPI†

Has received the Cardinal's letter in recommendation of the Knight of St. John's of Jerusalem, who has however not presented himself, having probably heard that Pole had stopped at Dillingen,

* Giambattista Cicala, a Genoese, created Cardinal with the title of San Clemente by Pope Julius III. on the 20th December 1551. (See Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 325, 326.)

† Ridolfo Pio of Carpi. (See Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 173, 177.)

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as may be known to the Cardinal, and will therefore not have cared to come thus far out of his way, without hope, for the present, of receiving any assistance at the Court from Pole, who would have rendered it, and will gladly do so, out of regard for the Cardinal of Carpi, should the opportunity present itself.

Refers himself for the rest to his agent, who will communicate the latest news from England.

From Dillingen, 8th November 1553.

[Italian.]

Nov. 14.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

828. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DEL MONTE.

Yesterday by a courier express, who came from the Imperial Court at Brussels in three days and a half, Pole received Del Monte's letter of the 28th [October] acquainting him with the Pope's intention about his stopping, in conformity with that of the Emperor. Has thoroughly considered and understood the whole, nor will he swerve from the obedience due to his Holiness, as will be more particularly narrated to Del Monte by Pole's agent. Being obliged to stop, has been truly fortunate to find himself in such good and noble company as that of the Cardinal of Augsburg, most especially as had he proceeded farther he might have found himself in the midst of places infected with the plague, which still continues in all the towns on the Rhine and thereabouts, although in some places it seems to be slightly diminishing. At Dillingen during the last few days they have been in alarm on account of the Marquis Albert,* who had taken the field with 2,000 horse and 12 companies (*insegne*) of foot, and occupied some towns and places belonging to the King of the Romans; but it is now heard that the Duke of Brunswick, captain-general of the confederates his opponents, has made him retreat into a fortified castle of his own, with the loss of 100 horse between killed and wounded, and the rout of the infantry; so they are quite free from all fear of seeing him at Dillingen, most especially as all the neighbouring places are on the watch, and with fresh garrisons. The Lord God will provide for all their need, and they will take counsel according to circumstances, as Dillingen is not more than moderately secure (*non essendo questo luogo più sicuro che tanto*).

From Dillingen, 14th November 1553.

[Italian.]

Nov. 15?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

829. The SAME to CARDINAL MORONE.

Some benefices have lately fallen vacant in the church of Magdeburg, about which the Emperor has written in favour of a German, his councillor, named Bokhler, and the Cardinal of Augsburg gives assurance that he is Catholic and a very worthy person, so he supports his appointment to these vacancies; and as it is heard that the Pope has referred the matter to Cardinal Morone, Pole requests

* Albert Alcibiades of Culmbach or Bareith. He was proscribed in 1553, expelled in 1554, and died 8th January 1557, aged 35 years. (See Chiusole, p. 340.)

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him to support Bokhler and oblige the Cardinal of Augsborg, from whose agent, Messer Annibale, he will hear further particulars.

[Dillingen, 15th November 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxviii. p. 176,
tergo.

830. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The two Cardinals-Legates sent by the Pope, the one to the Emperor and the other to the most Christian King, to negotiate peace between their Majesties, perceiving the difficulty of effecting it, have departed on their way back, by order of his Holiness.

The Queen of England was crowned on the first of last month, and proclaimed, to the universal satisfaction and gladness of the realm.
Ayes, 148. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxviii. p. 177.

831. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Informed by their ambassador in England that eight French armed ships seized in the port of Plymouth the ship "Viara," laden with wines, belonging to divers Venetian noblemen and subjects, bound to London, which having been taken to Dieppe and not yet unloaded, the Signory's ambassador in London obtained letters of favour from the French ambassador there to the Governor of Dieppe, and also wrote a full account of the affair to him [the Venetian ambassador in France] that he might do what was necessary with his most Christian Majesty for the vessel's release. Desire him, should the ship not have been yet released, to repair to the King, and let him well know in how great account they hold this matter, not merely on account of the loss sustained by their nobles and subjects, but by reason of the detriment done to commerce by so gross an injury in return for so many loving demonstrations made on every occasion towards the subjects and dependents of the most Christian King.

To urge the King to cause the said ship with its cargo to be immediately released, and compensation made for the losses incurred, and that stringent orders be given to prevent the repetition of similar attacks on the ships of the Republic's subjects and ministers, and that for the future their vessels be not molested in French harbours, but treated as becomes the good friendship between his most Christian Majesty and the State. The perpetrators of the outrage to be also duly punished, in proof of the good understanding between his Majesty and the Signory, and to show the respect with which the King means them, their subjects, and their affairs to be treated; and in this matter they both expect and desire an ample demonstration from his Majesty.

To remonstrate with the Constable and the Admiral, and with such other persons as necessary, and so far as compatible with the Republic's dignity.

Ayes, 156. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

1553.

Nov. 18.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

832. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Has received his Majesty's letter of the 19th [October] and what the Pope caused to be written to him by the Cardinal [Cristoforo] del Monte. Although he holds all the opinions and counsels of the Emperor in such great respect and esteem as is due, and though the Pope desires him thus to do, especially in this matter relating to England, yet nevertheless, being compelled to tell the Queen what he thinks in reply to her demand, he deems it his duty to do the like by the Emperor. Does so the more willingly, as it seems to him that Divine Providence presents a very fitting instrument for the performance of this office in the person of the Rev. Father Friar Pedro Soto,* the bearer of the present letter, and who will tell the Emperor Pole's opinion and his own likewise (*le dirà il senso mio et suo insieme*) with regard to this subject. Requests the Emperor to hear him graciously, as his very sincere devotion and love for his Majesty, and that of Pole likewise (who yields to none in wishing him all prosperity and grandeur, to the honour of God and the benefit of Christendom), deserve; and referring himself for the rest to Soto, he humbly kisses the Emperor's hand.

From Dillingen, 18th November 1553.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18?

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date of time

or place in MS.

833. The SAME to the MAGNIFICO PIERO CONTARINI.

Although he would gladly have seen Contarini a second time, he is unwilling to cause so much inconvenience to him and others, who so constantly need his charitable assistance. Prays him, therefore, to rest content with having now performed this office by letter, and to pray, and obtain the prayers of others, that God may grant such completion as is hoped for, to the miraculous work of his hand, which Contarini justly considers a universal cause of rejoicing seeing that the Divine Providence has demonstrated itself in those parts, where of late years it has been the least acknowledged, and has thus chosen to regard (*esaudir*) the blood of so many martyrs.

Has written to the Doge according to Contarini's suggestion, as he will perceive, and cannot but greatly marvel that so many impediments and delays should be found in so clear a case of right, and to the detriment of so many souls. Salutes Contarini's brothers, and prays God to preserve and prosper them and Contarini himself.

[Dillingen, 18th November 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18.?

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date of time

or place in MS.

834. The SAME to the DOGE OF VENICE [MARC' ANTONIO TREVISAN].

The Bishop of Verona having conferred the Archpresbytership of Lonato on Pole's chaplain, Messer Pier Francesco Zini, quite unknown to Pole, being moved thus to do solely by his knowledge

* This mission is mentioned by Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 295. The Dominican monk Pedro Soto had been confessor to the Emperor. In 1553, he was theological professor in the University of Dillingen, and in May 1555, he was employed by Cardinal Pole for church reform in England until September 1556, when the Emperor reappointed him his confessor, and I believe he held that post until the Emperor's death.

1553.

of Zini's good and sufficient qualities, Pole, so far from impeding this election, favoured it, although he thus deprived himself of such a servant; and he now hears that although the Bishop's right to confer the benefice has been recognized and approved by the Pope, the adverse party does not cease thwarting its collation, greatly to the cost of Zini, and to the detriment of the souls of his parishioners, who in the meanwhile remain without a rector. Requests the Doge to order the Commissioners appointed for the cognizance of this case to report upon it to the Doge without further delay, that it may then be despatched with such speed as is required by right, which Pole will consider a particular favour.

[Dillingen, 18th November 1553?]

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25.
Lettere Secrete,
Capi
Consiglio X.,
File no. 6.

835. THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN TO GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letters of the 29th ult., perceive that English affairs are proceeding prosperously for the Crown, especially with regard to the religion. Are glad to hear this, and commend his diligence. Understood the commencement of his negotiation with Commendone, and its result (*successo*); so, perceiving it to continue, they desire him adroitly to decline this business, and withdraw from it entirely, so as not again to meddle by any means; without letting it appear that he has any order from the Signory.

Ayes, 17. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

In the College, in the presence of the Chiefs of the Ten, the noble Soranzo being absent.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
Printed in v. iv.
pp. 123-127.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli."
Dated Dillingen,
1st December
1553.

836. CARDINAL POLE TO QUEEN MARY.

Received her Majesty's letter, written to him in Latin, but as it had been thrown into (*conjecta*) a packet with other letters (the person who sent it from the Imperial Court making no mention of the Queen), Pole had no idea that any one of them was from her, till he had read the others, when he recognized her autograph signature on the last page; yet as it was written in Latin, and not in the vernacular, which Princes are wont to employ when writing or speaking to their subjects and "*cum suis*," in which she had moreover written to him a few days previously,† he in truth could not but feel surprised. Should her Majesty have perchance acted thus supposing that so many years' exile had made him forget his native tongue, she really had good reason to do so, for he had found this to be the case with some of their countrymen, and it has very frequently happened to himself to be at a loss for certain words when making any continuous discourse (*aliquid perpetuâ oratione*);

* 1553, Die 25 Novembris in Coll^o. intervenientibus excell^{is}. D. Ca^p Ill^{mi} Cons. X. absente cl^{mo} superantio.

The Chief of the Ten, Soranzo, withdrew because he was the kinsman of the Ambassador.

† Query, letter dated Westminster, 8th October.

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though whatever may have been the cause of this, nothing could be pleasanter or more desired by him than to read letters from her Majesty in whatever language. But as in her former letter, the Queen mentioned the danger in which she then found herself, and asked his advice about avoiding it, he thought fit to write the answer in his native tongue that he might be much more surely and distinctly understood, and sent it by a trusty messenger, that he might in the same tongue explain Pole's meaning, had it been at all obscure. Hopes that the letter and the messenger produced the necessary effect, and to her Majesty's Latin letter, will now in like manner reply in Latin, and supply any possible omissions in his former letter; nor does he desire any greater eloquence from the language, than that it may enable him to render the danger as visible to the Queen as it appears to himself, although by asking his opinion about avoiding it, she shows herself well acquainted with the fact, but is not this a proof that she does not know it entirely? Were a shipwrecked mariner to ask advice whether he should seize a plank or embark in a little skiff (*parvam scapham*), would this prove knowledge of the greatness of his danger? The Queen, or at least England, was assuredly wrecked when she threw herself overboard from St. Peter's ship, into the sea of this century (*in mare hujus sæculi*). It is true that this cannot be properly called shipwreck, as St. Peter's ship can neither go to pieces (*frangi*) nor founder. At present, Pole, and through him, God and the Apostolic See, show her the mode of escaping from the waves of the sea; which is, to re-enter the ship. If the Queen hesitates to do so, does she not show ignorance of the greatness of her danger? But she may be perfectly sure that those who remained out of the ark and were overwhelmed by the flood at the time of the Deluge, never incurred greater danger than those whose souls are now flooded by increasing cupidity and depraved opinions; whereas when they were joined to the body of the Church, before throwing themselves out of St. Peter's ship, it served them for an ark. Nor may the Queen suppose herself in less danger, because in her mind she never departed either from the ark or from her obedience to the Church, although materially consorting (*etsi corpore cum iis versaretur*) with those who plunged overboard. This might serve as an excuse before her accession to the Crown, but the accusation now becomes graver, as being saved herself she should save all others, just as the pilot of a ship puts his hand to the helm, but by delaying, hesitating, and consulting, they in the meanwhile all perish.

Has drawn a picture of the danger; her Majesty will judge whether it is the time to deliberate, or rather to act as ordained and prescribed her by divine and human counsel, for he sees that the Divine goodness has given her two advisers (*consultrices*) in this cause, the one divine law, the other that of nature. Both her letters* show that she had employed them, when she writes that having been educated (*enutritam*) in the old religion, she was determined to adhere to it until death, and that it

* Dated London, 28th October, and 15th November 1553. (See *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli*, vol. iv. pp. 119-123.)

1553.

had taught her that the title of Supreme Head of the Church, did not become a King, as she knew the powers, dignities, and prerogatives (*officia*) of a King and of a priest (*sacerdotis*) to be distinct, the one being a political body, of which the King is head, the other ecclesiastical, having a priest for its head. All this indeed she learned from the divine law, but when she added that the title of Supreme Head of the Church in her kingdom misbecame her sex, this is taught both by divine law and by the law of nature, as shown by St. Paul, who, when he forbids a woman to teach* in church, shows sufficiently how absurd and iniquitous it is for her to personify the supreme head in church, whose chief duty it is to imbue the people with doctrine; and as the same Apostle affirms that the wife of even one man alone cannot usurp authority over him, because it is contrary to the law of nature, so for a woman to call herself the head of that multitude which constitutes the Church, is forbidden both by divine as well as natural law. With the authority of these laws, what more can the Queen require? She has received from God the spirit of counsel; let her Majesty now entreat the spirit of fortitude necessary for the completion of the undertaking, which will infallibly ensue, should she have placed all her hope in Him from whom she received the kingdom, who said "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world," and who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, to whom he prays for her Majesty incessantly.

From Dillingen, 1st December 1553.

[*Latin*, 116 lines.]

Dec. 15.
Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 18.

837. THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Are certain that by their letter of the 25th ult. about his withdrawing adroitly from the matter of religion in England, he will of his prudence have also understood their intention with regard to other negotiations about matters unconnected with the Signory; having nevertheless heard it reported in certain quarters that an envoy (*un homo*, Renard?) has been sent to England by the most Christian King to persuade Edward Courtenay (*al Sig. Cortoni*) not to brook the introduction of a foreign King nor to wrong himself, the envoy promising him his most Christian Majesty's assistance, and employing his (Soranzo's) mediation with Courtenay; although they do not believe the matter to have passed thus, or that he (Soranzo) meddled with it; will acquaint him with what has been told them, in order that, should these suspicions proceed from any close and constant intercourse between him and Courtenay, or from other causes of which he will be able to judge, this warning may put him on his guard, so as by courtesy and address to prevent anyone from suspecting such a thing for the future on such occasions as may hereafter present themselves; and in this the Chiefs are sure he will succeed, by means of his prudence and dexterity.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*.]

* 1 Timothy ii. 12.

1553.

Dec. 21.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxviii. p. 183.

839. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at
CONSTANTINOPLE.

By letters from Brussels and France down to the 3rd instant, are informed that the greater part of the Imperial and French troops have gone into winter quarters, but the cavalry on either side forage, and both Sovereigns are amassing considerable sums of money.

By the letters from England hear that a marriage is being negotiated between the Queen and the Prince of Spain, the Emperor's son.

Ayes, 190. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.

Lettere Secrete,
Capi Consiglio X.,
File no. 5.

840. MOTION made in the COLLEGE in the presence of the
CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Should the Imperial ambassador present himself to the College before the sitting of the Council of Ten, the justification (*expurgatione*) with regard to the matter of England to be made in such manner as shall seem fit to the prudence of the person appointed to perform this office.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29.

Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 8.

841. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR
with the EMPEROR.

By his letters addressed to them on the 10th instant have understood what the Bishop of Arras said to him by the Emperor's order concerning their ambassador in England, and what he prudently replied, for which they praise him greatly; and, with the Council of Ten and Junta, charge him immediately on receipt of the present letter to do his utmost to obtain audience of the Emperor, with whom they choose him in any case to confer, that he may explain to his Majesty in their name the regret and trouble caused them by hearing not only that the Emperor, but that others likewise, believed their ambassador in England to have performed any office detrimental to the interests of his Majesty or of the most Serene Prince his son, the Signory not having had so much as the slightest thought or idea of the sort, still less of giving him such a commission, as they are certain the Emperor, of his great wisdom, may easily comprehend and know clearly, should he but be pleased to consider on how many occasions for many years they have proved their constancy by sincerely preserving the good friendship formed with him, which they will also maintain for the future, both with his Majesty and with his said most Serene son. Having proved this frequently, they deem it superfluous to convince his Majesty; yet, although they cannot believe in the performance by their ambassador of the offices attributed to him by persons, perhaps for their own ends, they have nevertheless written to him in such form as becoming, it being their will and intention that neither by their own acts nor by those of any of their ministers may any suspicion be formed, contrary to the true good will and extreme observance borne by them towards the Emperor and his most Serene son.

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The ambassador is in any case to perform this office with his Majesty and the Bishop of Arras, so that they may remain tranquil and well satisfied; and of the execution of this order he is to give notice to the Chiefs.

And be it carried that tomorrow morning, the Imperial ambassador resident here be sent for into the College, and after the withdrawal of all who are not members of this Council, a communication be made to him in conformity with the present letter, in order that he may perform the like office by letter with his Imperial Majesty.

Ayes, 26, No. 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29.

Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 8.

842. THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN TO GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Since their last, giving him notice of its having been reported that the French, by his means, sought to impede the marriage of that most Serene Queen to the most Serene Prince of Spain, they have received letters from the Signory's Ambassador with his Imperial Majesty, informing them that by the Emperor's order the Bishop of Arras had complained to him seriously, that he (Soranzo) did not scruple to perform evil offices against the Emperor and the most serene Prince, his son, and against the whole Spanish nation, and endeavoured to render it hateful to the English; expatiating greatly on this matter, although he professed to believe that he (Soranzo) had acted thus without the Signory's orders but from some opinion of his own. Will comprehend how much this has troubled them, it being their will that in matters which do not concern the State, their ambassadors are neither to interere nor lean more to one side than to the other, as much trouble and disturbance might ensue, to the Republic's detriment. They, therefore, with the Council of Ten and Junta, have chosen immediately to despatch the present missive, to order him entirely to abstain from similar offices, and not to take any action in that matter, associating both with the Imperial and French agents with such moderation (*modestia*) and prudence, and so uniformly, that the one side may not have cause to consider him more confidential and partial than the other; avoiding also such conversations as might create suspicion, owing to the casualties (*occasioni*) of the present time, so that they may not again have reason to repeat anything further to him about a matter of this quality; and of the receipt of the present letter, together with what he may have to say on the subject, he is to give notice to the Chiefs.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutral 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxviii. p. 183,
trigo.

843. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

The Imperial Ambassador having had audience of them this morning, to acquaint them, by the Emperor's order, with what has been negotiated in England, and with the fair prospect of the

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Queen's marriage to his son the Prince of Spain, as by the enclosed writing, which he then presented, they answered in such terms as to make him convince his Majesty of their good-will towards him and his said most Serene son, for the fuller expression of which they charge their ambassador to wait on the Emperor and thank him for this his confidential communication, letting him know that whatever prosperity and felicity may happen to his Majesty and the most Serene Prince, the Signory is very greatly pleased and comforted by it, as becomes their sincere friendship and the extreme observance which they bear his Majesty.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 11.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1554.

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Jan. 5.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxviii. p. 183,
tergo.

844. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Her Majesty's Ambassador resident with them had audience of the Signory a few days ago; and after announcing what had been treated in the English Parliament, and that the marriage of the Queen to the Prince of Spain was negotiated, the Ambassador added her Majesty would always maintain the friendship which had subsisted between England and the Republic. The Signory thanked the Ambassador. Desire him (Soranzo) to repeat the Signory's thanks.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12.

Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 8.

845. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By his letters of the 15th and 17th ult., have heard how prudently he conducted himself respecting Sir Francis Barnard's coming to the Imperial Court (*nella occasione della venuta a quella Corte del Cavalier Bernardo*).

By these same letters, perceive what he in the first place caused to be done by his secretary, and what he himself did subsequently, about the audience given him by the Emperor; and with regard to the Signory's ambassador in England. Although these offices were performed with the best intention, and for a good end, nevertheless, with regard to the words which he told the Bishop of Arras he had written to the ambassador in England, charging him "*neither by signs, gestures,*" etc., the Ten and Junta would have wished that, without descending to so many particulars, he had expressed himself with greater regard for the Signory's dignity, as done by him on former occasions, and as—with his usual prudence—he will know how to do for the future.

In his letters of the 23rd, received after the above-written, he

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asks their orders whether he is to speak to the Bishop of Arras that he may desire Hironimo Falconeto to desist from the language held by him (as the Ambassador writes) about Soranzo in England. As Soranzo, by his letters of the 11th ult., has assured them that what was said about him concerning this affair of the marriage * deviated utterly from the truth (as written by him, they believe, to the Ambassador likewise, and as they themselves considered certain even before the receipt of his letters); and as their last missive prescribed to him the office he was to perform in this matter with the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras, they think that will suffice; and that it would be unfitting to do anything more, or to seem to take so much thought for every word uttered at the Court, even by malignants or frivolous persons; as so far from doing any good it would but rather increase suspicion.

Have chosen freely to unbosom themselves to him; and are very certain that being prudent, as he is, he will perfectly realise their intention.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxiii. p. 188.

846. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor has sent four personages of distinction as ambassadors to England to treat the marriage between the Prince of Spain, the Emperor's son, and the Queen. By order of his father, the Prince will cross from Spain to Flanders in the spring. The Emperor is arming in Flanders, and the Signory's letters from France, purport that his most Christian Majesty is doing the like, and that he has sent Pietro Strozzi into Italy, where he has already arrived, being now Governor of Sienna.

Ayes, 161. No, 1. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.
Lettere Secrete,
Capi
Consiglio X.,
File no. 5.

847. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Wish to know whether a Dalmatian, Captain Berislao, who was in the pay of the late Kings Henry and Edward, and now receives stipend from the King of the Romans, still continues or has been in receipt of any stipend from Queen Mary. Require also information about his condition and qualities; whether he is a man of valour and honour; and whether the English Government is satisfied with him. To obtain particular information, as it were on his own account, and with all becoming caution, and to acquaint the Chiefs with the full result.

Ser Thomas Contarini, C.C.X.

Lectæ Ex'mis D'nis

Ser Aloysius Donato, C.C.X.

Cap. utr. manus.

Ser Hermolaus Barbaro, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

* As Francesco Bernardo had greatly aided the peace between England and France in 1546, the Imperialists might have suspected him of some similar negotiation in 1554.

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Jan. 19.
Lettere Secrete,
Capi
Consiglio X.,
File no. 5.

**848. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR
with the KING of the ROMANS.**

Wish for information about Captain Giacomo Berslao (*sic*), a Dalmatian in the pay of the King of the Romans; what sort of man he is, and what pay or pension he receives from his Majesty; how long he has served him; and whether he is considered valourous and faithful; whether he is treated well, or in what form; whether his stipend or pension is current; and whether he has any stipend in England. To give them especial notice of all that he knows about this man, as they understand he was lately at the Court of the King of the Romans, who despatched him (*et è stato espedito da Sua Ma.*), and that the Ambassador is aware of this. Should he not have full information, to write what he knows.

Ser Thomas Contarenus, C.C.X.

Lectæ Ex'mis D'nis

Ser Aloysius Donato, C.C.X.

Cap. utr. manus.

Ser Hermolaus Barbaro, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

849. QUEEN MARY of ENGLAND to CARDINAL POLE.

Most Reverend Lord and my good Cousin,

Owing to the change of the religion many persons who seem to be heretics,* as also married priests, have been found in the enjoyment of the principal ecclesiastical benefices of the realm, amongst whom are certain prelates, including Archbishops and Bishops who have been deprived and dismissed their sees by the last decree of the Parliament.† The Queen, therefore, pondering within herself how necessary it is to provide their churches with other pastors, and not choosing in any way to attempt anything whatever against the authority of the Pope and the Apostolic See, nor against the privileges and ancient customs enjoyed and observed by the Kings of England her predecessors, before this evil modern religion was introduced into the realm, she has thought it well to give Pole notice of this, that she may be better acquainted with his opinion; and also learn, by what way, without scruple of conscience, she could provide for the said churches until the obedience of the Catholic and Apostolic Church be again established in England; and she, therefore, with all earnestness, requests him to inform her, if, in virtue of his faculty, he has authority to confirm the collation of these benefices, or whether the Pope has reserved the disposal of them to himself. She also wishes to know whether Pole can confirm in the benefices already vacant the persons appointed to them, on account of their worthy qualities, and not without the advice of the most Catholic and lettered men of the kingdom. In case recourse to the Pope be requisite, the Queen requests Pole to inform her how she is to proceed in this matter; feeling sure that

* Havendo per la mutatione della religione in questo regno trovati molti come loro dimostrano heretici, et preti conjugati, etc.

† "Nel numero de' quali trovandosi alcuni prelati, sì arcivescovi come vescovi sono stati per l'ultimo decreto del Parlamento deposti et soluti delli loro beneficii." "In October 1553, by a majority of 350 against 80, the mass was restored, and the clergy were required to return to celibacy." (See Froude, vol. vi. pp. 115, 116, ed. London, 1869.)

1554.

he will continue the usual sincere friendship and goodwill which he has always borne her. Will not tell him how the Kings her predecessors had the election of similar persons, as he knows more about these things; and her lack of experience not sufficing for their explanation, she will say nothing more about them.

The Queen has written to the Bishop of Norwich, her ambassador with the Emperor, and commissioned him to visit and receive Pole on his arrival at Brussels, and not merely to salute and congratulate him on his coming, but also to deliver a message in her name; and she hopes in the Divine goodness to see him in his native land, when she shall be able more freely and fully to unbosom herself to him, assuring him that his coming will give her very great comfort, as known to the Lord God, whom she prays always to have him under His holy protection.

(Signed) Your most affectionate and most friendly cousin
so long as the present life shall last me,

From St. James's, 23rd January 1554.

MARY.

[*Italian. Translated from the original in English.*]

Jan. 28.

850. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The Pope will have heard of the letter received by Pole from the Emperor inviting him to the Imperial Court, saying he should be glad to see him, and that the sooner he went thither the better would his Majesty be pleased. Three days after the receipt of this missive, Pole commenced his journey, hastening it as much as the season allowed, and on the 10th instant arrived at Louvain, sending thence immediately to announce his arrival to the Emperor through the Bishop of Arras. His Majesty evinced great satisfaction, and gave orders for him to be met and received with all pomp, as was in fact done on the 20th. The Duke of Savoy, in the Emperor's name, accompanied by the whole Court, went to receive him at a place outside the town* where Pole had stopped, and where he was greeted in like manner by the Bishop of Arras; who told him how glad the Emperor was to hear of his safe arrival, and that had his Majesty's health permitted he would have come in person to meet him. The Duke of Savoy, also, addressed him most courteously in the Emperor's name. But before Pole arrived at that place, when midway between Louvain and Brussels, he was met by the two ambassadors from England, one of whom is the Bishop of Norwich [Thomas Thirlby], and the other, a layman, † who the day before wrote him a letter which they sent by two of their gentlemen, apologising for not having gone to meet him as far as Louvain, their sole reason being that they were hourly expecting audience of the Emperor, which was in fact given them on the day of Pole's arrival.

The whole procession then moved towards Brussels, where Pole was met at the first gate by the clergy, and conducted under the canopy to the cathedral, being accompanied thence to his lodging

* Probably the monastery of Diligam (*sic*) near Brussels, from which some of Pole's subsequent letters are dated; nor may "Diligam near Brussels" be confounded with Dillingen in Bavaria.

† Query, Sir John Masone. (*See Foreign Calendar, Brussels, 18 January 1554, p. 49.*)

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most reverentially by a multitude of people. On the morrow he sent to request the Bishop of Arras to ascertain when it would please the Emperor that he should go to him; which office the Bishop courteously promised to perform on that same day, and came yesterday to tell Pole he had done so, and that the Emperor willingly and without delay would have seen Pole had not his Majesty been compelled to take a certain purge.

The Bishop then commenced making many apologies in the Emperor's name for having caused Pole to be stopped at Dillingen, saying it was owing to his Majesty's surprise that, after explaining his mind about the peace to the Cardinal Legate of Imola, who announced it positively to the Pope, his Holiness, before receiving the Emperor's reply, had immediately appointed Pole to negotiate it; in addition to which, with regard to the matter of England, the Emperor did not deem its discussion opportune whilst Parliament was sitting.

Without making much rejoinder to the excuse, Pole assured the Bishop of the sincerity of the Pope's proceedings, and said that his Holiness's goodwill was illustrated both by the first legation [to England], so suited to his duty and office, as likewise by the second [having for object peace between the Emperor and France]; and by so much the more as the Pope thought by the second to facilitate the first, relating to the matter of England; and that as to the affair of the peace, this delay seemed to favour its negotiation, which Pole professed himself ready and anxious to undertake; and that as Divine providence has ordained that the Prince his Majesty's son is to be King of England; it being therefore to be hoped and expected, as he is so Catholic, that on the restoration there of the religion the kingdom will enjoy every blessing, so that this plant may take root and bear fruit; Pole, as an Englishman, was consequently so much the more anxious to effect the peace, it seeming to him that it would greatly contribute to that result, and thoroughly establish the affairs of the religion in England.

The Bishop of Arras then thought fit to discuss the steps taken about the peace by the Legates who preceded Pole; and said that the King of France made them such replies and demands as to exclude every possibility of negotiating it; and that of this the Pope must have been very circumstantially informed. It has given Pole great pleasure to hear by the last letters from his agent at Rome, that by the Nuncio his Holiness is sending him especial instructions about the peace; the appointment of this Nuncio being in like manner a great comfort to Pole, as he believes him to be a personage from whom the Pope may promise himself the best possible service, to the honour of God and to the common weal, with regard to both matters.

Congratulates himself on the Emperor's not having given him audience, as he has been seriously indisposed from rheumatic gout (*catturo*), which commenced at the close of his journey; but, beginning to feel better during the few days that he has remained quiet, he hopes to recover before the Emperor appoints him audience; and, unless he feels himself worse, will not on this account allow the opportunity to escape him. On the way, received much courtesy

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from the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves; and as the other two Archbishops [Mentz and Treves?] had in like manner prepared to do him honour, he mentions it, to render due testimony to the honour and reverence demonstrated through his person towards the Apostolic See and his Holiness.

From Brussels, 28th January 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

851. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DI MONTE.

Having already by the accompanying replied sufficiently to his letter of the 8th ultimo, it remains but to tell him of the audience which he had yesterday of the Emperor, being called by the Bishop of Arras, who, together with the Duke of Savoy and other personages of the Court, accompanied him both going and returning. He found the Emperor risen from his bed, seated, and with his feet on another chair, looking very well, and better than Pole expected to find him. His Majesty had a third chair placed near him, nor would he allow Pole to speak to him until he also sat down.

After making the due obeisance and imparting the Papal benediction sent by the Pope, Pole congratulated the Emperor on his good condition, although not such as required for the present need and the common weal of Christendom; but nevertheless, as he found his Majesty improving, there was reason to thank God and to hope for yet greater prosperity. After presenting the Papal brief, Pole commenced talking about the causes of his legation, the Emperor seeming to listen willingly and to be gratified by what he said touching the Pope's good disposition; and, in short, to be glad to see him, both on account of the person who sent him, and for his own sake likewise.

Beginning then to reply about the matter of England, his Majesty proceeded to say that he did not think it as yet mature for negotiation; and when discussing the peace and the injuries received by him, he came however to the conclusion that, provided means be found for making it fair and durable, he never intended to exclude the negotiation, but that he was ill satisfied with what had been proposed heretofore, to the detriment of Christendom; and he said the business consisted in the means and particulars, to which he should be better able to reply after they had been intimated to him, and if they were such as to warrant hope of more certain quiet for Christendom; making it appear that he had more at heart the common weal than his own private wrongs.

This, in short, was the Emperor's reply, and as much as Pole could elicit from the audience, which lasted almost an hour; and when he told the Emperor that at this first interview he would not weary him further with details, praying him, as his wish for the common weal was worthy of himself, to vouchsafe moreover to bethink him of the means, as no one could give a better impulse (*indirizzo*) to the business than his Majesty; the Emperor answered that those who had offended were bound to propose the form of agreement, by restoring what they had so unjustifiably seized.

Rejoined that this concerned the settlement, which might be

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hoped for, after commencing the negotiations with the other side, but that to facilitate them, he requested the Emperor himself to think of the means, and give some hope of negotiation,* leaving it subsequently to Pole to sound the disposition of the parties (*tentar l' animo loro*): to which his Majesty replied, that daily events and opportunities would show better what was to be done. Pole then presented the Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate], whom the Emperor received graciously, and after he had kissed his hand, and said a few words, Pole took leave and returned home accompanied by the same personages who took him to the Court.

He is now anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Nuncio, with particulars about this negotiation [for peace], to enable him to give it some commencement, but greatly fears that the affairs of England, where certain tumults have been excited † on account of the marriage, may furnish additional matter for war, and render the negotiation of this cause more difficult.

In the middle of last night, the English Ambassador [Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich] sent to show Pole a letter received by him from the Queen's Privy Council, announcing the risings stirred-up (*escitati*) in two provinces of England, one of which is [Devonshire] where the Prince was to land, as it is towards Spain; but the population remained staunch to the Queen, the only persons who rose being certain seditious leaders, who were supposed to have been already captured, or to have made their escape, not having found favour with the people.

The other rising (*tumulto*) was in Kent (near London, towards Calais) where the people mustered; but the Queen immediately sent the Duke of Norfolk thither with troops, and on the morning of the day when Pole wrote this letter, the Bishop of Arras told him that they were some 10,000 in number, and as they promised pardon to those who deserted the rebel leaders, many resumed their allegiance. The chiefs and some of the insurgents withdrew into the small town of Rochester with the intention of disputing the passage into Kent of the Duke, who was marching against them and anticipated a speedy victory.

The city of London stood firm for the Queen, together with the rest of the nobility, except the Duke of Suffolk, father of that Jane (*padre de quella Giovanna*) whom the Duke of Northumberland had made his daughter-in-law and Queen; it being supposed that he had taken flight, from fear of being sent back to the Tower, seeing that this had been done to the Marquis of Northampton; ‡ and the Queen presupposing that Suffolk was gone into the province (*in quella provincia*) [Leicestershire] where he has his mansion and estate, her Majesty sent against him the Earl of Huntingdon, § who has to wife the writer's niece, || and has as many adherents and no less authority in that country (*in quel*

* Con dar qualche attacco di pratica con essi.

† Essendosi suscitati certi tumulti.

‡ The arrest of Northampton took place apparently on the 26th January. (See Froude, vol. vi. p. 154.)

§ Francis Hastings.

|| Catherine Pole, eldest daughter and co-heir to Henry Pole, Lord Montacute.

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paese) than Suffolk himself, being of a rival family which is opposed to the Duke.

Such is understood to be the state of affairs in England;* and these same letters say besides, that although the insurgents allege no other cause than their wish to resist the future domination of the Spaniards, yet was it nevertheless believed that they had also been instigated by the cause of the religion. Prays the Almighty to interpose His holy hand. Is compelled to delay sending his messenger with letters to the Queen until he hears that the insurrection in Kent has been more thoroughly suppressed, as it is impossible to go from Calais to London by any other road. Was invited yesterday, on behalf of the Queen [Dowager] Maria [of Hungary] the Regent, to attend mass this morning in the chapel erected by her Majesty. Went accordingly, and after the mass gave the benediction and "indulgence," urging the congregation to pray *pro pace et unitate ecclesiae*; and subsequently, on descending with the Queen Dowager of France [Eleanor of Austria], and the Duchess of the Lorraine [Christine of Denmark], he saluted them in the Pope's name, alluding to the peace, and exhorting them likewise to lend a helping hand, and aid so holy a work, for the benefit of Christendom, as they offered to do, with all piety; whereupon he took leave of them, saying he would visit them later more conveniently.

On arriving at Brussels, told the Bishop of Arras that he could not satisfactorily commence treating the affair of the peace, until by the publication of the jubilee he had invited the people to pray God for its conclusion; and that he purposed having the bull published by the Bishops of the Low Countries. The Bishop of Arras asked to see it, and next morning sent word to Pole that he might do what he purposed doing, but demurred somewhat to the words *pro reductione regni Angliae*; and so when these few days of carnival are over, it will be issued.

From Brussels, 5th February 1554.

[Italian.]

Feb. 7.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxviii. p. 189.

852. The DOGE and SENATE to GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letters of the 15th ulto. were acquainted with the conclusion and stipulation of the marriage between the most Serene Queen and the Prince of Spain. To perform such office of congratulation as becoming.

Ayes, 187. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 4.

[Italian.]

Feb. 8.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxviii., p. 189.
tergo.

853. The SAME to the SAME.

In conformity with what he wrote to them on the 15th ult., the most Serene Queen's ambassador communicated to them this morning, in her Majesty's name, the conclusion and stipulation of the marriage

* This account was probably derived from the letter of Renard to the Emperor, dated London, 29th January 1554, of which there is a transcript amongst the Rolls House MSS. (See Froude, vol. vi. p. 161.)

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contracted (*seguito*) between her and the most Serene Prince of Spain; and he also stated the particulars of the marriage contract, adding how much satisfaction it had caused in England, where affairs were proceeding quietly. To this the Signory made a suitable reply, thanking her Majesty for so loving a communication, and rejoicing at this auspicious event. Desire him, when congratulating the Queen and Council, according to the order transmitted in their letter of yesterday, not to omit the Signory's thanks to both one and the other for this announcement, giving them in such affectionate and suitable terms, as he shall deem becoming.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

854. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CRISTOFORO] DI MONTE.

By his last, dated the 28th ult., together with those of the 4th instant,* Cardinal di Monte will have heard what was known down to that time about the rising in Kent, and how the Duke of Norfolk, who had been sent against the rebels there by the Queen, was said to have returned to London, being deserted by his troops, who had joined the enemy; which intelligence was subsequently confirmed, it being also heard later that what had been said about the other rising [in Devonshire] was true. After this, news came that the leader there [Sir Peter Carew], not meeting with such support from the people as he expected, had fled to France. Of the Duke of Suffolk, who was said to have made his escape from fear of being again confined in the Tower, nothing more was heard, save (as Pole wrote in his former letters) that the Queen sent into the province whither he had betaken himself, the Earl of Huntingdon, who is his rival, and very powerful in that same district (*nel medesimo paese*).

Her Majesty, perceiving that the Duke of Norfolk, being deserted by his troops, had turned back, sent to tell the chief of the insurgents in Kent [Sir Thomas Wyatt], and the others likewise, that she was willing to use her natural clemency and to pardon them provided they would submit and return to their obedience; and as it seemed that the marriage which she had purposed making for the benefit of the kingdom was not generally approved, she promised not to marry without the universal satisfaction of the Parliament and the whole realm.

To this proposal the chief of the rebels is said to have haughtily replied that he commenced doing what he did against her for the liberty and benefit of the kingdom, and that the example of what was done by the Queen's father against the rebels at York [in 1536-1537], to whom he failed in his promise, putting so many of them to death, warned him to beware of placing trust in her; and that having a good cause he hoped for God's assistance.

On receiving this reply, the Queen caused Wyatt to be proclaimed a rebel, in London; and seeing the rebels continue their march in that direction, she on the 31st January arranged to present herself

* Not found.

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in a certain public place [Guildhall] where the chief citizens were to assemble, that she might acquaint them both with her proposal to the rebels, and their reply; adding also, that on the day of her coronation, when the ring which she wears was put on her finger, she purposed accepting the realm of England and its entire population as her children; and thenceforth she never intended to do anything but what was for their benefit; and that thus would she do for the future, promising especially not to marry without the universal consent of Parliament.

This announcement was to be made on the day above-mentioned,* on which day Count d'Egmont and his colleague (the Imperial ambassadors who went lately to England to conclude the marriage, with the intention of proceeding to Spain), by the will of the Queen and according to the opinion of the Council, departed from England, and arrived at Brussels on the day before yesterday. The cause of their departure was apprehension lest their presence should irritate the people, who had already expressed their dislike by deeds, and some of the Queen's guards who formed their escort, after embarking them, behaved disrespectfully towards them, both by word and by firing certain harquebuse shots.

From what was told Pole by a gentleman, his friend, who came over with these ambassadors, this Kentish insurrection seems to have been plotted and contrived with France (*con Francia*), but was not to have commenced so soon, and the reason for anticipating the outbreak seems to have been suspicion of one of their accomplices, who had been imprisoned for obstinately persisting in the religion introduced in the time of King Edward. It is said that they expected a great number of ships from France, as also troops; and by other letters from the King of France, which the Imperialists intercepted yesterday, it is reported very publicly that the French had an understanding with Madame Elizabeth the Queen's sister, who, being at a distance of 30 miles from London, and having been called by the Queen, excused herself on the plea of indisposition; so her Majesty sent her litter there (*onde la Regina le haverà mandato la lettica - sic*), nor is it yet known what she did subsequently. This is what Pole has been able to ascertain about the affairs of England, but he considers it a good sign that no further advices have been received since the departure of the ambassadors, as there is no lack of a way by which to send messengers without making them pass through Kent.

When the ambassadors took leave of the Queen, she said, with a great show of confidence, that she had not the slightest doubt of being assisted by the Almighty, having had experience of his help and power when in greater need, and being conscious that her mind was entirely intent on His service; and that she would not ask further assistance from the Emperor, feeling certain that he would not fail in whatever he deemed helpful for her. It is understood that he is providing the greatest possible number of ships, of which it seems he has already 12 in readiness, and 3,000 German

* The Queen's address to the citizens at Guildhall is dated 1st February in Froude (vol. vi. pp. 162, 163). I am unable to decide whether Cardinal Pole is more exact.

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troops, to repel any invasion which might be made by way of France, and that he will do all that shall be rendered expedient by the course of events; and it also appears that there is a talk of mustering as soon as possible 12,000 Germans, to be employed for this same purpose.

Should the Queen be bound by her promise not to marry without the universal consent of the kingdom, it is very probable that this matrimonial negotiation may be suspended, at least for a while, though Pole cannot say whether they will relinquish the thought of it; most especially as at Brussels, some of the chief ministers of the Emperor and of Queen Maria [of Hungary] are heard to express opinions at variance with each other, some of them seeming to consider the marriage hopeless, and that no further design of any sort should be formed about it; whilst others on the contrary seem to evince a belief that this insurrection took place on account of the religion rather than of the marriage, which in the greater part of England is approved of.* Prays God that what takes place may prove most to His service, and to the advantage of the country.

Pole's above-mentioned friend who came with the ambassadors, told him that he knows the Queen to have said and confessed freely that she had erred in placing trust in the counsel of the heretics, and it seems that she has become very suspicious of the greater part of her Privy Council.†

Does not write further to the Pope for the present, waiting to hear the result of these disturbances, which news cannot reasonably be long delayed. Cardinal di Monte will be pleased to acquaint his Holiness with what Pole has written to him thus in haste, sending it by a courier, who is being despatched on the sudden to Italy.

Is anxiously expecting the arrival of the Nuncio, of whom as yet he has no notice at all.

Within the last few days much has been said about the Emperor's departing speedily for Germany, with the intention of being present at the Diet of Augsburg, which is to be held after Easter, and it is said that the Bishop of Arras has already ordered the harbingers to be in readiness; and that his Imperial Majesty will soon send a personage to announce this journey of his to the Princes of Germany, that they may the sooner be present in person at the Diet. Unless our Lord God causes the disturbances in England to be completely quelled, there is great fear that they may prevent what might have been hoped through the peace.

From Brussels, 8th February 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9.

855. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

When first the news arrived of these disturbances in England Pole sent the Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate] to condole with the English ambassador [Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich] in Brussels, and to learn whether there was anything Pole could do for the

* Il quale nelle maggiori parti dell' isola sia tenuto per buono.

† Et pare che sia entrata in gran sospetto della maggior parte del suo consiglio.

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service and assistance of the Queen. The ambassador sent to say that nothing occurred to him, save that he thought it might be to the purpose for Pole to commence the negotiation for peace by proceeding to treat it in France; and on the morrow, when visiting Pole he repeated this, and Pole thought fit to communicate it to the Reverend Father Soto,* who having occasion to ask audience of the Emperor for other business, he told him, when asking it, to mention that he had also something to say to his Majesty on behalf of Pole, as he did.

The demand was made yesterday, and the audience took place today, when Soto, after representing this opinion and suggestion of the ambassador, said Pole thought fit to impart it to the Emperor, and to let him know, that if his Majesty approved of his going to France at the present time he would do so, provided the Emperor would be pleased to give him some hope,† such as authorising him to say that he had induced the Emperor to consent to send some personage to some neutral place to commence treating the peace, provided the King of France would do the like, and that Pole was to intervene for the same purpose, which he would do if it pleased his Majesty, although he was expecting the Nuncio with certain particular instructions about this matter, having free commission from the Pope to do whatever he thought expedient for the common weal.

The Emperor replied that he thought it was better to wait for the Nuncio, as, if God had thus ordained it, the peace would be made in an instant. First of all, Father Soto had said, how much sorrow and distress Pole felt at these disturbances in England, on every account, and particularly by reason of the regret it must cause the Emperor. His Majesty evinced the best possible opinion of Pole, and trust in him, and as to the affairs of England, putting aside the respect of the Queen, for whom he had great affection by reason of her piety and goodness, even had she not been his kinswoman, he showed (*mostrò*) that on the score of his own individual interest he was not at all distressed, and that he was induced to negotiate the marriage principally for the sake of the religion, both in England and in the Low Countries, and for their general good; and that as the thing was intact (*et che essendo la cosa integra*), he had returned to Spain the commission from the Prince, sent by him for the conclusion of the marriage, although in his conversation he did not make it appear that he had renounced the thought, but that it gave him no anxiety. He also said that the Queen had purposed telling the Londoners, that having at their suit renounced her intention of remaining without a husband, she should be ready to resume that same intention, seeing that the spouse of her choice was not to their entire satisfaction.‡

* In the Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, p. 20, are the instructions given to Father Soto or Soto, by Cardinal Pole, when he sent him to the Emperor from Dillingen in November 1553.

† Et che a sua Maestà piacesse darmi qualche attacco.

‡ From this it may be inferred that if the Queen made her speech in Guildhall on the 31st of January it was after Count d'Egmont and his colleague had embarked, and on the 9th of February the Emperor merely knew what the Queen had purposed saying.

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Father Soto greatly praised this intention of the Queen, and said the Emperor should acknowledge, as a special favour from God, that these disturbances had taken place before the Prince's arrival in England, as otherwise there could not but have been great danger. His Majesty seemed to admit and take it in the same way,* and not to intend doing anything by force.

This is the whole of Father Soto's conversation on this subject with the Emperor, whom he says he found in much better health than before, and that his Majesty himself moreover assured him, that it was a long while since he had felt himself better.

As yet no further news of events in England has been received, since the arrival at Brussels of Count d'Egmont, which surprises the Imperial Government and makes them draw sinister conclusions, it having merely been heard by letters from Antwerp that the advices from London, dated the 3rd February, announced the entry of the insurgents into the borough of Southwark (*nel borgo che è di qua dal fiume*), and that the Londoners seemed inclined to defend themselves, independently of other respects, from fear of being sacked by the rebels, who were some 3,000 in number.

It is also said that all the foreigners had been disarmed, more on account of a number of Frenchmen who were in London, than from any other cause, and that the Queen's speech in public had given great satisfaction.

The English merchants at Antwerp having shown signs of departure and already commenced selling their effects in haste, on hearing of the trepidation (*del tremulo*) of England, and the return of the Imperial ambassadors, his Majesty gave them to understand that they were to remain in all security, and in short gave orders (though with all gentleness of language) that without his commission, neither the merchants, nor their ships, nor their merchandise were to quit Antwerp.

Requests the Cardinal to acquaint the Pope with the contents of this letter and of the others written yesterday, all which go together, the courier who was to have departed yesterday being detained until today, on account of the news of Sienna, which causes much talk at Brussels, no less than the affairs of England.

From Brussels, 9th February 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

856. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

From Monte's former letters and from the credential brief, Pole fully understood the Pope's intention with regard to the course to be pursued by him about the Prince's marriage, and perceiving the progress of affairs, when the Reverend Father Confessor [Soto] was on the eve of departure [from Dillingen], and asked him what he was to reply about Pole's opinion in case the Emperor alluded to [what] it [had been], before he devoted himself exclusively to the office enjoined him by the Pope respecting the religion and the marriage, Pole desired him to say what was the truth, that several letters and messengers having been exchanged between the Queen and

* Mostrò de accettarla et intenderla al medesimo modo.

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himself, he never either directly or indirectly said a word relating to the intention of marriage (*pertinente al fin del matrimonio*), as his opinion in this matter had never been asked; and it not being his custom to interfere in similar matters, which require great consideration, he said not a word, nor did he give a hint on the subject. But when Soto asked him what his opinion was, Pole did not hesitate to tell him, in order that he might impart it to the Emperor according to opportunity, namely, that his first opinion would be, that the Queen, being of the age she is, should content herself with the spouse who has always stood her in the stead of parent, he being God the Father, and that during her life she should attend to doing whatever was to his honour, leaving the affairs of the succession of the realm to take their course.

This Pole would have said at the commencement, had he been asked, but as this opportunity did not present itself, and as according to general report the marriage with the Prince had been stipulated (*concluso*), Pole then said that as he was charged with the affair of the religion, which was not very popular in England (*non molto plausibile in quel regno*), he neither could nor ought to show himself favourable to this union, his knowledge of the national disposition convincing him that it was even more universally odious than the cause of the religion, lest he should additionally impede the first commission assigned him by the Pope;—so that although the marriage with the Prince would be concluded without Pole's assistance, he was convinced by the goodness of the Queen, independently of what may be conjectured of the Emperor's piety, that this was done for the purpose of having a better arm (*meglior braccio*) whereby to establish the affairs of the religion; in which case the Emperor will not find any servant in the whole world more desirous of the Prince's tranquillity than he is, nor who will put himself more forward in whatever he can do, either through his own means, or through his kinsfolk or friends, to establish the Prince's rule (*stato*) in England in peace and quiet.

This was the reply of the Father Confessor [Soto], when Pole sent him to the [Imperial] Court* [in November 1553], and he is now the more confirmed in it, seeing that it coincides with the mind of his Holiness.

So much in reply to the first letter of Cardinal di Monte; and with regard to the second, concerning the instructions about the peace, which he is to receive from the Pope, it arrived in very good season as he has not yet had audience of the Emperor, not having received previously any commission about the peace, which must now be his chief business; and although the letter lacks certain particulars, it will enable Pole to temporise until the arrival of the Nuncio with the most minute instructions. Is very anxiously expecting him, and rejoices extremely that the Pope should have sent so worthy and adroit a personage.

In the meanwhile Pole will do his utmost to ascertain the bent of the Imperialists, according to the desire of the Pope, who also

* Compare this with "Instructions by Cardinal Pole to the Reverend Father Confessor of the Emperor." (Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, p. 20, No. 61. 1553, October, or beginning of November.)

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wishes to know what he elicited from the conversations held with the Bishop of Arras and the English ambassadors. Speaking with the Bishop of Arras about the benefit of peace and saying that if at first, in general, for the benefit of Christendom, and then being sent by the Pope for the purpose, he greatly desired to succeed in it, so at present, as an Englishman, he is much more interested in the business than ever, and also for the greater service of the Emperor, who having established (*piantato*) his son in England, peace seemed necessary, in order that he might derive entire comfort from this step; and Pole foresaw that the Divine goodness, purposing by all means to render the Emperor's old age tranquil, after the many toils endured by him, had added this incentive of peace-making to the others, that he might more beneficially enjoy the English marriage.

The Bishop admitted the validity of this argument in favour of peace, to which however he said the Emperor was never averse, provided it could be made durable; and he then expatiated on the evil proceedings of the French, coming to the conclusion that if they proposed tolerable terms it would be seen that the Emperor will always have more regard for the common weal than for the revenge of his own private injuries.

With the English ambassadors Pole had already performed the office mentioned by Cardinal di Monte, with regard to exhorting the Queen to use her influence with the Emperor and the King of France, to bring the negotiation for peace between their Majesties to a good end; showing how much this would be to the honour and especial advantage of the realm of England, which has now greater need of peace than any of the other kingdoms devastated by the war.

The ambassadors returned thanks for this suggestion, saying they would write to the Queen; and Pole also will address a letter to her to the same effect, having received one from her Majesty since his arrival at Brussels, the tenour of which Cardinal di Monte will perceive by the enclosed copy, Pole having had it translated word for word as written to him in her own hand. Thereby Monte will perceive how much might be hoped from her goodwill towards the affair of the religion if there were anyone on the spot to encourage and show her the way to carry it into effect, seeing that in the midst of so many obstacles she cannot refrain from asking counsel and assistance from one in whom she places trust. Pole thinks of sending one of his attendants on purpose to give her such counsel and assistance as he can, until greater aid and favour arrive from his Holiness, to whom di Monte will communicate everything, and request him to assure Pole as soon as possible of that consolation [papal absolution?] which the Pope wishes to impart to the Queen and the country.

What Pole can do in this matter is to acquaint the Queen with his powers, that should the persons in question acknowledge and confess their past errors, remaining firm, and with unfeigned repentance asking absolution for them, Pole, through the grace given him by the Pope, is enabled to receive them into the Church, and, should they evince worthy fruits of repentance, and possess qualities worthy of the episcopal dignity, qualify them in such a manner

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as if they had not fallen into schism. As for the rest he does not doubt that her Majesty will find the Pope ready and inclined to console her.

In addition to this, Pole will exhort the Queen to send him one of those who evince piety, that he may come with powers from them to ask this absolution. This he thinks of doing, though could he have hoped to enter England he would have delayed the absolution until he be present there; but the ambassadors, when speaking with him about their commission from the Queen, mentioned two most important things with regard to his coming, announcing them to her Majesty's deep regret, that owing to the perversity of the heretics she did not see in what way he could enter the kingdom, repeating all that the Emperor had given him to understand on the same subject through Don Juan de Mendoza; nor did they assign any fixed time when he might hope, as they alluded to the marriage of the Prince, declaring that the principal cause of it had been the trust that by means of such an arm (*brazzo*) the affairs of the religion might be better established.

Replied that this end was holy, provided it could be said that God had united them, and that as no further progress than this could be made at present in the cause of religion, they should all continue praying the Almighty, by means of this marriage, to facilitate the matter and conclude it; and he then commenced speaking of the necessity for the peace, for which the Queen and the Prince should exert themselves. With regard to Pole's not going to England, he said he would do what he knows to be the wish of his Holiness, arriving there at the moment deemed most beneficial for the Queen and the kingdom, and attending in the meanwhile to the affair of the peace, to which should God grant success, Pole thinks thus to serve both one and the other, as on its own account and for the cause of the religion it is more than necessary. Pole then left the ambassadors, who seemed satisfied with his replies, but he marvelled that in stating their commission it seemed to him that they utterly excluded his going to England, whereas by the Queen's letter Cardinal di Monte will see that her Majesty gives hope of it; but perhaps the ambassadors alluded to his entry as *legate*, and the Queen as a private *cardinal*, which would not seem to him very fitting. God's will be done, and Pole will obey the commands of his Holiness.

From Brussels, the 10th February 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 18.
Miscellaneous
Letters,
Venetian
Archives.

857. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the CHIEFS of the TEN.

The ambassador from Ferrara, at the Emperor's Court, is a Piedmontese, and has almost daily communication with the Duke of Savoy, who is fond of him (*che lo ama*); and hesitating to address Damula personally on the subject, informed him through a confidential friend, that in the Duke's house, there being also present a gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, discourse was held about the offices said to have been performed by your Serenity's ambassador in England; and moreover that his Majesty has given

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orders for the drawing up in England, of a written statement of his proceedings, with the intention of sending it to your Serenity. I said, I thanked the ambassador for the kindness he had shown me, and that I should give good news (*bona nuova*) to the most noble Soranzo, as they will never find that he has comported himself otherwise than prudently in this matter, as he always has done in others, both because he has thus been endowed by God with good ability, as also because he had domestic discipline, which has taught him never to commit the slightest error, still less such a thing as this. Has also heard from others, that the aforesaid Ferrarese ambassador, has moreover performed some other good office in this matter; and I let it appear that I hold this gossip (*queste zanze*) in no account. After having written thus far, one Nicolò, a musician in the service of the Queen [Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary?] who is often in the habit of coming to the Venetian embassy, and is very intimate with the Emperor's second equerry, Monsr. d'Andelot, near whom he lodges, came and told me that a few evenings ago, when supping with said d'Andelot, Monsr. de Horbes (*sic*), a gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, said that his Majesty had complained of your Serenity's ambassador, saying that he would have him punished, and if he found that your Serenity had ordered what he did, his Majesty would find means to make you repent it. These words are important, most especially when repeated by these individuals about the Emperor's person, for both one and the other go when they please into his chamber; and I believe that these two said them to each other, for Nicolò seemed to tell me this with much personal fear, and under promise of secrecy, saying it would cost him his head if divulged; but I am in doubt whether the words were uttered by the Emperor, he being always habitually reserved in speech, yet is it my duty to acquaint your Excellencies with the whole. I answered Nicolò, thanking him for his goodwill, and saying I did not believe his Majesty spoke thus, that the ambassador will be acknowledged utterly blameless, and that I laugh at these vanities.

From Brussels, 18th February 1554.

Marc' Antonio Damula, ambassador.

In cipher throughout, with contemporary decipher—

Addressed: Excell^{mis} D^{nis} D^{nis} Capitibus Ill^{mi} Consilij Decem,
D^{nis} Col^{mis}.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23.*?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

358. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last of the 12th,† after giving the Pope account of the auspicious result of the disturbances in England, he told him that, by reason of the delay of the Nuncio's arrival, he had commenced negotiating the peace; detailing what he had done in this matter with the Bishop of Arras. Has again spoken with him at great

* The date in the manuscript is Brussels, 23rd April, but the contents of subsequent letters make me substitute 23rd February.

† Not found.

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length, but could elicit nothing save that they wished for peace, and that should the French propose reasonable terms, modifying the reply made through Cardinal Dandino, the Imperialists would listen to them willingly and reply. The Bishop added that Pole ought to have gone first to the King, who, having been the aggressor, should be the first to be instigated to propose the negotiation of an agreement, as had been previously said to Pole by Don Juan de Mendoza.

Replied that, independently of the Emperor's supreme rank, the Pope sent him in the first place to his Imperial Majesty, as to one who, considering himself the injured person, should be sought first of all, to favour the pacification; notwithstanding which, the Pope will also send him to France, on knowing that the Emperor approves of it. To this the Bishop of Arras made no answer; and, in short, again repeated several times that Pole could not hope for anything more from the Emperor, and that this was moreover expedient for the matter itself.

Pole then went to visit Queen Maria, and after congratulating her on the good news from England, presented the Papal brief, saying how much the Pope relied on her favouring the affair of the peace; and was listened to graciously, her Majesty saying that no one was more bound to desire it than herself,* considering how much the Low Countries suffered from war, and that she would always do her best; but that everything consisted in finding means to make a durable peace, and not such as the one stipulated heretofore.

Would not say more, in consequence of the determination announced by the Bishop of Arras, with whom having spoken a second time, and finding him confirmed in it, he at length said that he knew not what else he could do, but go straight to France for the performance of his legation, as he would do, with the Emperor's goodwill, after his next audience of him, which he had on the 19th, when he found his Majesty in the same good health as on the former occasion. Congratulated him on the victory granted by God to the Queen of England, as showing the paternal care and constant protection vouchsafed her by the Almighty, who by this fresh disturbance warned her above all to promote the interests of the religion, especially as it was seen that the people in the North of England and in Cornwall, who have always been well disposed towards the true religion, showed themselves in this need the most faithful and well affected to her Majesty. This the Emperor admitted, saying the Queen would not fail to do as became her duty and her piety.

Pole then commenced adroitly speaking about the peace, endeavouring to learn something more from the Emperor than had been told him by the Bishop of Arras, but after all could elicit nothing but the expression in general terms of his wish for peace; and that his goodwill and desire for the common weal would be known, when the French, by coming to some particulars as it behoved them to do, should show that they also wished for peace, and would give an opportunity for negotiating it.

* "Con dire che a Lei toccava più che ad altri il desiderare la pace." Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary, was Regent of Flanders.

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At the end Pole said that, with his Majesty's good grace, he was going to France, and, as the Emperor made no reply whatever to the contrary, Pole settled not to return again to his Majesty unless the Nuncio arrived in the course of the present week, in which case, if the Emperor pleased, he would accompany him to audience; and with reference to this matter he mentioned the good qualities of the Nuncio, which had caused the Pope to make choice of him.

Having written thus far, a secretary arrived from the Duke of Mantua, and says that on the 12th instant he left the Nuncio at a short distance from Trent, travelling leisurely (*che veniva a giornate*) and in the company of the Cardinal of Burgos; so perceiving that his arrival at Brussels will be very tardy, Pole, as the season is so far advanced, will set forward in three or four days, to anticipate if he can and treat the peace before the re-commencement of hostilities in these parts (*in queste bande*). Leaves one of his secretaries at Brussels to acquaint the Nuncio with what has been negotiated, and to reside there for whatever may be required. Another of his attendants also remains there, with orders to follow Pole after the arrival of the Nuncio, and to bring what the Pope shall have been pleased to send him. As it was requisite to have a license to pass into France, when Pole discussed this topic with the Imperial ministers, asking them for a pass for this person whom he leaves at Brussels, as also for others whom he may have to send to and fro on account of this business, they made more difficulty than the Emperor himself, to whom he was compelled to have recourse about this, as they said they should prefer having the intercourse carried on by letters rather than by messengers; notwithstanding which, they at length consented to his sending a messenger when circumstances required him to do so.

On the 20th instant a new ambassador arrived from the Queen of England, with an honourable company of gentlemen, having been sent to the Emperor to give him particular account of the last successes; and on the morrow the old ambassador,* who is Mons. de Norwach (*sic*), came to tell him the reason why the other day (*l'altro giorno*) he did not come to visit him, saying that when he left England no news had been received of Pole's arrival at Brussels, though he heard of it at Calais; so having no commission about this from the Queen he hesitated whether he should come; and having asked the Bishop of Norwich his opinion, the Bishop declined interfering in the matter, saying that for his own

* This does not seem to be the "old ambassador, a layman"—the predecessor and colleague of the Bishop of Norwich, who was mentioned by Cardinal Pole in the letter dated 28th January. I am unable to ascertain his true name, or that of the "new ambassador," who arrived at Brussels on the 20th February. By the Foreign Calendar it seems that Sir John Masone arrived at Antwerp from Brussels on the 2nd February 1554, nor does he appear to have returned to Brussels until the end of April 1554. (See Foreign Calendar, p. 81, date May 3, Brussels.) Who then was the old ambassador, who on the 21st of February 1554 owned to having had scruples about visiting Pole? If Masone was the person who accompanied the Bishop of Norwich to meet Pole mid-way between Louvain and Brussels on the 20th January 1554, it seems improbable that he should have hesitated to pay him a visit at his own house; though the person mentioned in this letter may have been Masone, who, perhaps, went back from Antwerp to Brussels between the 2nd and the 21st February, but how to convert "Norwach" into Masone I know not.

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part there was no occasion for him to entertain similar doubts, as from the commencement he had been commissioned by the Queen to visit him.

The ambassador then narrated the course of events in England ; and when Pole inquired how the Queen would proceed for the future, he said he knew nothing whatever, having no letters either from the Queen or the Council, but merely private advices ; nor could he reason on future events, but on the past alone. Exhorted him by his fidelity to God, the Queen, and his country, to recommend her Majesty, with this great opportunity, to establish the affairs of the religion, without which establishment Pole said he could not hope God would allow her to enjoy the realm in peace.

The ambassador seemed to approve what was said to him, but with regard to Pole's going to England he said it was not yet the time. Answered that the Pope had sent him to seek the welfare both of the Queen and of the realm, and that in one way he should always seek it, namely by praying God, but would await the moment deemed opportune by the Queen for promoting it by his own presence, and in the meanwhile continue his journey to France for the negotiation of the peace, about which he would also write to the Queen, she having no greater need of anything than of peace ; and he then exhorted the ambassador to write to her Majesty not to give the King occasion to make war.

The ambassador promised thus to do, and said that amongst the other marriage articles with the Prince, it was stipulated that she should not be compelled (*ristretta*) to take part in this war against France, but rather that the Prince should be the means for negotiating the peace.

Pole then mentioned that he was sending a messenger to England, as already announced by him on two former occasions to the ambassador, who always dissuaded him, but now he made no further rejoinder.

On departing Pole purposes sending this messenger and his letters to the Queen, and will acquaint the Pope with the result.

There is no hope that the Queen will be stimulated on either side of the Channel (*nè di qua nè di là*), but rather checked (*rafredata*), in proceeding about the affairs of the religion, and most especially with regard to the reconciliation (*reduttione*), but this must not prevent them from performing such offices from day to day as will conduce to this result ; and the greater will Pole's exertions be, the more he sees the necessity for them, with the hope that the Almighty will not cease constantly knocking at the heart of the Queen, whom He, of his Divine goodness, has visibly exalted and defended.*

The bearer of the present packet will be Don Hernando de Vega, brother of the Viceroy of Sicily, who, as the Bishop of Arras says, is being sent by the Emperor, amongst other things, to thank the Pope for the paternal will evinced by him towards the Prince.

From Brussels, 23rd of April (*sic*) [February ?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

* Anci tanto più Io sono caldo in sollicitaria, quanto veggo ch'è ne ha maggior bisogno, con speranza ch'è N. S. Dio non sia per cessar de batter de continuo al cuore de essa Regina, dalla sua divina bontà esaltata et difesa come si è visto.

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Feb. 24?*

859. QUEEN MARY OF ENGLAND to CARDINAL POLE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Since it pleased the goodness of God to place her in her present grade, she has never had anything more at heart than the union of England to the Apostolic See; so she never ceases thinking what ways and means would be the most expedient and easy for the accomplishment of this her desire. It is necessary for the public at large (*per l' universale*), to introduce it through the Parliament, which represents the entire kingdom, and especially by making known to every one in what errors they are living, and how many spiritual and temporal losses those persons incur who live separated from the body of the Catholic Church. For both these evils she finds there is no more opportune and efficacious remedy than to have good and Catholic prelates, who, being amongst the most important members of this Parliament, can by their own votes, and by persuading others to side with them (*et con il persuader gli altri al medesimo*), give great assistance to this cause; and having great cure of souls, they are able both of themselves, and by means of good curates their dependants, to persuade† every one individually to welcome willingly the Acts of the Parliament, in which even should this point concerning souls (*questo ponto delle anime*) not be carried, these examples and persuasions would nevertheless prepare the way to introduce it universally, or, at least in the greater part of the population.

For the accomplishment of this holy work, and to commence this act, which is so important as an indication of her goodwill, the Queen has made choice—according to the tenour of her privileges and the custom of her predecessors—of twelve Bishops, as by the enclosed list,‡ who, from the knowledge and information obtained about them, are amongst the most Catholic and well affected to the Apostolic See, and on every other account the most suited to this burden, of any she has been able to find in England for presentation to the Pope, that they may be confirmed and inducted in these churches, according to the mode employed before the introduction of the schism. And therefore, both for the avoidance of further delay in doing what she ought for the honour of God and the common weal of her kingdom in this matter, as also for other necessary causes, she has been compelled to summon Parliament on the 2nd of April next.§

Has also determined to present these prelates to Pole, as the representative of his Holiness and the Apostolic See, requesting him to admit this presentation (always with reservation of the Pope's approval), and send it in her name (*et mandarla in nome mio*) as speedily as possible [for confirmation?] to his Holiness, so that in conformity with these and other letters written on the subject, she

* Again is the date in the MS. incorrect; and I can only guess that the letter was written about the 24th February.

† Et per mezzo de buoni curati inferiori e persuader particolarmente ognuno che abraacci, etc., etc.

‡ The list does not exist. In Froude's 6th vol., p. 198 (ed. 1860) there is the following paragraph: "The Pope had granted permission without difficulty to fill the vacant sees; and on the 1st of April [1554] six new prelates were consecrated at St. Mary Overies."

§ "Parliament met at Westminster on the 2nd of April. The Oxford scheme had been relinquished as impracticable." (See Froude as above, p. 212.)

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may have the presentation of these bishops, praying the Pope to be pleased to confirm and institute the persons presented by her to the sees, Pole in the meanwhile giving them license to take possession, should the confirmation and institution not arrive in time, so that they may sit in Parliament and produce the good effect desired.

Pole is to direct the business in the way that shall seem best to him, as she refers herself entirely to his judgment; and by this letter, she appoints him her proctor (*procuratore*) to make this presentation, with faculty to substitute others in his stead at Rome for the same purpose, promising on her part to do whatever can be done for this holy union.

From St. James's, 12th March (*sic*), [24th February?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 29.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 19.

860. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Yesterday they received his letters of the 28th ultimo down to the 7th instant giving a copious account of the disturbances in England, and of the battle between the insurgents and the Queen's troops, her Majesty remaining victorious, the like news having been communicated to them by the English and Imperial ambassadors, who this morning entered the Signory's presence. This intelligence caused them such pleasure and satisfaction as become their sincere friendship with that most serene crown. To congratulate the Queen in their name, assuring her of the pleasure and consolation derived by them from her success; they hoping that her cause being so just, as it really is, her affairs will proceed prosperously and have the good result desired by her. To perform the like office with the Bishop of Winchester, and such other Lords of the Council as he shall think fit.

Lectæ in pleno Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

March 1.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 4,
tergo.

861. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The four ambassadors from the Emperor went to England to the Queen, with whom they treated and concluded her marriage with the Prince of Spain, his Imperial Majesty's son, which marriage [contract] the Emperor subsequently confirmed and signed; and in Cornwall and Kent, the people, wishing for a native Sovereign and not a foreigner, resented this, taking up arms and rebelling. On account of this insurrection the four ambassadors quitted London and returned to Brussels. The last London letters inform the Signory that the rebels in Kent, under their commander Sir Thomas Wyatt, were approaching London, hoping for support from the Londoners, but on the 7th February, the day of the letter's date the Queen's infantry and cavalry marched against them and fought a battle near London, in which her Majesty's forces were victorious, capturing Wyatt, and five other men of quality, who have been taken to London and committed to the Tower. The Emperor, on

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hearing of this victory, sent orders to Spain for the Prince to come for the consummation of the marriage, and has provided a number of ships for his passage. The Emperor has summoned a Diet at Augsburg for the second week in Easter (*per l'ottava di Pasqua*), with orders for the Princes of Germany to appear, and giving out that he himself will attend, [that Cardinal Pole, who is on his way to England to the Queen his near relation, has had audience of the Emperor, to whom according to report, in the Pope's name, he proposed terms of peace with the King of France,]* and that news has been received from Spain of the death of the Emperor's mother, and of the Prince of Portugal, his son-in-law, leaving his widow pregnant; and by letters from France of the 13th February, it is heard that she has been delivered of a son, who succeeds to the Crown of Portugal.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 14. Neutrals, 10.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.

862. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Having written what was necessary about his coming into these parts, to the Cardinal di Monte,† it merely remains for him to tell the Pope, that on the third day after his departure from Brussels, the Bishop of Arras sent to him by an express, a letter from the Queen of England, of which he encloses a translation; and the Bishop said the Queen wished it to be delivered to him as soon as possible. On the day after its receipt Pole sent one of his attendants in haste to England with the reply, the summary of which, should the Pope so please, he can hear from Pole's agent at Rome, and save himself the trouble of reading the instructions given to the messenger.

Had he not been compelled by the shortness of the time, Pole would not have given any positive reply to the Queen until he had first heard in detail the will and order of his Holiness, whom he informed, on receipt of the Queen's penultimate letter, that she then made him the same request; and knowing of the Parliament which is to commence at Oxford on the 2nd of April,‡ he believes it to be the cause of the haste evinced by the Queen, when she says that *mora trahit periculum*, and that she purposes making use of these bishops in this Parliament; so that Pole deemed it by no means expedient to interpose any difficulty or delay in gratifying her Majesty's pious wish, and giving this commencement of recourse and submission to the authority of the Pope and the Apostolic See. On the return from England of his messenger, which he hopes may take place at any rate by Easter, Pole will immediately give notice to the Pope of the whole.

From St. Denis, the 2nd March 1554.

[*Italian.*]

* The bracketed paragraph in the register, was to be ciphered in the letter.

† The letter has not been found.

‡ "The Queen intends to keep Easter at Windsor, and immediately thereafter to repair to Oxford, where she means to hold a Parliament and keep term." (See Foreign Calendar, 22nd February 1554, Westminster, No. 157. The Council to Dr. Wotton, p. 60.)

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March 6.
Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xxi. p. 90.

863. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That of the moneys destined for ambassadors, 600 golden ducats be given to the nobleman, Ser Zuan Michiel, ambassador elect to the Queen of England, on account of his expenses for four months, and 150 ducats at the rate of 6 livres and 4 "soldi" per ducat, for the purchase of horses, 30 ducats for coverings and trunks, 50 ducats as a gift for his Secretary, and 40 ducats for two couriers, at the rate of 20 ducats each, and also 200 ducats for couriers, despatch of letters, escorts, guides and safe-conducts.

The treasurer of the Council to pay Michiel's agents on the expiration of three months after his departure from Venice, at the commencement of the fourth month, 150 golden ducats, namely, one month's salary, so that he may always have one month in advance, and thus from month to month.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.
Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 8.

864. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, ambassador elect to England, do appear tomorrow morning before the Chiefs of this Council, who will tell him that as the Emperor, suspects Michiel's predecessor [Giacomo Soranzo] of having performed some evil office in the matter of the marriage of the Prince his son, and against the Spanish nation, the will of the Council is, that Michiel do proceed with all speed to his legation, so that within the next ten days at the furthest, he is to depart from Venice and go with all diligence to his post, keeping secret what will be told him by the Chiefs aforesaid.

Ayes, 26. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 5,
tergo.

865. MOTION made in the SENATE about English News destined for Constantinople.

The Emperor's Ambassadors went to England to the Queen, and concluded the marriage between her and the Prince of Spain, the Emperor confirming it. Some Englishmen, resenting this marriage, rebelled, as they wished to have a native for their King, and not a foreigner. Owing to this insurrection, the Ambassadors quitted London, and returned to Brussels; and the rebels in Kent, with troops under the command of their leader, Sir Thomas Wyatt, approached London, hoping for support from the inhabitants, but they were met by the Queen's soldiery and worsted, Wyatt being captured and many others taken to London and committed to the Tower. Some other chiefs of the rebellion were also arrested; and the Lady Jane Grey, who had heretofore been proclaimed Queen, and her husband, were beheaded. The Emperor on hearing of the victory sent an order to Spain for the Prince to come immediately to consummate the marriage, and a number of ships have been provided for his voyage. His Imperial Majesty has sent back

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one of the aforesaid Ambassadors to England, and has summoned (*indito*) a Diet at Augsburg for the second Easter-week, desiring the Princes of Germany to attend it in person, and giving out that he himself also would be there. In Flanders, negotiations were on foot to obtain from the states of those provinces (*li signori delli paesi di Fiandra*) a considerable sum of money. [Cardinal Pole had arrived at Brussels on his way to England from the Pope to the Queen, whose near relation he is. It is said that he is sent on account of the religion, that he will quit Brussels before the end of February, and that his right reverend Lordship has exhorted the Emperor in the Pope's name, to make peace with the most Christian King.]*

Ayes, 86.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.

Lettere Secrete
Capi ConsiglioX.,
File no. 5.

866. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.†

Have elected as Ambassador in England the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, who this day departed on his way to his embassy. Have given him notice of this for his instruction.

Ser Petrus Maurocenus, C.C.X. Lectæ Cl^{ms} et Sap.
Ser Thomas Contarenus, C.C.X. utr. manus.
Ser Hieronimus Grimano, C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

March 27.

Deliberazioni
Senato(Secreta),
v. lxi. p. 10,
tergo.

867. COMMISSION from the DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHEL, Ambassador designate to England.

Have elected him as their Ambassador to reside with the Queen in the stead of Giacomo Soranzo. On arriving at the court, to present his credentials to the Queen, and express their congratulations on her accession and on her marriage. To announce his appointment as Soranzo's successor, offering his services for the maintenance of the good understanding between the two countries, and recommending to her Majesty the Republic's merchants in England; and whenever they apply to him (Michiel) for assistance and favour, to afford it to them.

If the Prince of Spain, the Queen's Consort, should already be there, or if not, immediately on his arrival, is to perform every office with his Highness to convince him of the Signory's observance towards the Emperor, and of their esteem for his Highness, as also of their intention to persevere in the friendship existing between them and his Imperial Majesty.

To present himself to the Councillors and exhibit the Signory's credentials, addressing each of them in such terms as to assure them of the affection which the Signory bears their Excellencies; and after he has remained a few days with his predecessor, and received from him all due information, they give Soranzo leave to return, as by the accompanying letter to his address.

* The bracketed passage was ciphered in the despatch, but not in the register.

† The letter to be transcribed in cipher.

1554.

To visit the other personages of the Court, and the Lords of the Council, according to their grade and authority, so that in return for these compliments, they may favour the interests of the Republic and its merchants.

To visit the Ambassadors of foreign powers at the English Court, so as to preserve the Signory's friendly relations with their sovereigns, taking the same course with regard to the Lords and personages in attendance on the Prince of Spain. During his residence at the Court is to use every possible effort to learn its negotiations and designs (*trattatione*), and the events of the kingdom, giving them especial notice of everything day by day.

On his journey to England, should he meet with any Prince or personage whom he might think it fit to visit for the advantage of the Signory's affairs, he is not to omit doing so, performing whatever office he shall deem becoming, in conformity with their grade and station.

For his expenses, have appointed him 150 golden ducats per month, 600 of which to be paid in advance, besides 150 ducats, at the rate of 6 livres and 4 soldi per ducat, for the purchase of horses, 30 for trunks and coverings, and 20 for a courier, as usual.

Ayes, 186. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 27.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 12.

868. COMMISSION from the DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR SORANZO in England.

Having granted his request to return home, are sending Zuan Michiel to reside with the Queen in his stead. To take leave of her Majesty and return. Are well satisfied with him, and commend the diligence and prudence which he displayed in such matters as he had to treat during his legation.

Ayes, 186. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 28.
Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 8.

869. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GIOVANNI MICHEL, on his way to England.

Warn him not to go to the courts either of the Emperor or of the most Christian King, but to proceed to his legation through France, adroitly avoiding the court, without showing that he does so designedly, or by their order. He is to desire his predecessor to do the like on his return, and after having read together this letter and its extract (*con l'estratto di esse*), they are to burn them in secret, to prevent their falling into the hands of other persons.

Ayes, 23. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

March 28.
Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 8.

870. The SAME to the SAME.

Not to interfere in matters not relating to the Signory, save as regards learning the state of affairs. Not to evince partiality, but to proceed alike with the ministers, both of the Emperor and of the most Christian King, so that the one may not suspect him of being more inclined to the other. In conversation, and in all his other

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acts, to avoid giving cause to any one to suspect or talk as they have done of late, much to the Signory's displeasure.

Ayes, 23. No, 1. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

April 4.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

871. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

Wrote to him from St. Denis on the 12th ult.,* announcing his arrival there, and how the King had let him know that on account of Passion week,† during which he purposed, as usual, abstaining from any business, Pole should be pleased to delay his coming to him until after the holidays. Did not think fit to make any further reply, but as he chanced to have compiled a discourse (*discorso*) on this affair of the peace, in order not to lose the occasion and opportunity afforded by the season, he sent it to his Majesty under cover to the Constable, telling him that as he could not then have audience of his Majesty in person, he thought he might confer with him by means of this writing, but referring himself to his Excellency, in case he thought fit to give it to the King, as he wrote back he had done, and that his Majesty had read it with interest and seemed to be pleased with it, as he himself indeed subsequently said to Pole. A copy of this discourse‡ will be given to Cardinal di Monte with this letter. The Archbishop of Vienne, who, on hearing of the King's determination about Pole's going to Fontainebleau, went back [from St. Denis] to the Court, returned on Good Friday, being sent by his Majesty; so Pole departed from St. Denis on Easter Monday [26th March], and on the 29th§ arrived at Fontainebleau, accompanied by the Cardinal de Chatillon, who, having been called by the King for this purpose, joined him near Melun.

He was also met, at his Majesty's desire, by the Duke of Lorraine and by Mons. de Guise, and by all the other personages of the Court, and immediately on alighting was taken to the King, who received him most graciously. After presentation of the papal brief, and when his Majesty had read it, Pole explained to him the Pope's great wish for peace between him and the Emperor, owing to the need of it for Christendom, and for the individual good of their Majesties; which desire was such that, had he not been prevented by age and indisposition, his Holiness would willingly have undergone any toil in his own person for this holy purpose; Pole adding such other words on the subject as seemed fit to him at this first interview.

The King, in reply, evinced great pleasure at the Pope's paternal disposition, and also commended Pole, saying in short that for his own part he was anxious for peace and the common weal. On taking leave of his Majesty, Pole went to the Queen [Catherine de'

* Not found.

† As the dates of these letters are occasionally transcribed incorrectly, I make note that in the year 1554, Easter Sunday was on the 25th of March. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, Table Chronologique, p. 33, ed. Paris, 1770.)

‡ Not found.

§ In Wotton's letter to Sir William Petre, dated Paris, 17th April, Pole is said to have arrived at Fontainebleau on the 8th April. (See *Foreign Calendar*, 1553-1558, p. 72.)

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DI MONTE.
(4th April).

Medici], and after saluting her in the Pope's name, exhorted her to perform such good offices as might be anticipated from her piety, which she seemed well-inclined and ready to do.

On the same evening the Constable [Anne de Montmorency] came to visit Pole, and had a long conversation with him, in which he commenced by testifying at great length to the good-will and desire of his most Christian Majesty, entertained and demonstrated from the commencement, not merely to preserve but to augment his friendship with the Emperor; and after saying much in justification of what the King had done, he spoke of himself, saying that under all circumstances he had ever been desirous of peace and favourable to it,* mentioning the causes, both public and private, which then, and now more than ever, induced him thus to do. Of this Pole showed himself convinced, and said he was certain that this last war was neither commenced nor well conducted by his advice, through which, coupled with good management, the forces of France had shown themselves much greater than before,† and that his Excellency having been the chief instrument to the King's honour in the management and execution of the war,‡ such help was now expected from his prudence and piety, for the conclusion of a good peace, as would obtain yet greater honour and benefit for his Majesty, and all Christendom also.

The Constable then invited Pole to propose some suitable arrangement (*qualche partito conveniente*), offering himself as ready to assist and favour the business with all his might. Told him that from the Emperor he had nothing but a testification of his goodwill in general about the peace, his Majesty having shown him the demand he made in the time of the former legates, to which no reply had been given, so he was expecting it, and if it were such as evinced a disposition to come to some good settlement, Pole said that in that case the Emperor would show by deeds that he was not averse to peace; so it merely remained for Pole to exhort his most Christian Majesty to make such a reply as would render his good-will intelligible, and serve as a good beginning for this negotiation, instead of preventing it; and he said that as the Constable was better acquainted than anyone else with all the particulars of the claims made by these two sovereigns, it seemed becoming for him to devise and propose some arrangement, reasonable and acceptable for both parties, in which case Pole would not fail performing such office as his position required by recommending to either side such modifications as seemed to him expedient to facilitate the conclusion of the affair. The Constable, however, again repeated that Pole was to suggest some specific agreement, promising that he also would do the like; and as Pole always persisted in the same proposal, Montmorency departed, but seemed

* Esser stato sempre in ogni tempo stato desideroso et fautore della pace.

† E gli dissi che io era certo che questa ultima guerra non era incominciata ne ben amministrata col consiglio suo (*sic*) mediante il quale con il buon governo insieme le forze di questo regno se erano mostrate molto maggiori che prima.

‡ Et che essendo stata S. Eccellenza principal instrumento all' honor del Re nel maneggio et esecuzione della guerra.

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satisfied, as he moreover evinced more largely (*largamente*) when talking with the Nuncio, always, however, again inviting them to make some specific proposal (*qualche particolare proposizione*).

On the same evening the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at the court, and next day came to visit Pole, with whom he remained a long while, the conversation always relating in like manner to this affair of the peace, towards which he also seemed well disposed, and said he felt himself the more bound to promote it, besides other respects, being a Cardinal and member of the Apostolic See.

On the day before yesterday* Pole was invited to dine with the King, who, after dinner, gave him a very gracious and leisurely (*commoda*) audience, at which Pole told him in detail what he had negotiated with the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras at Brussels, and the reply they gave him, adding that it was now expected that his most Christian Majesty, in conformity with the good disposition evinced by him towards the peace,† should make such reply to the Emperor's demands, as to give certain testimony to the world of this his will; Pole having previously said that he would not further exhort the King to make peace, perceiving that without further exhortation the Lord God had so well disposed him. His Majesty in reply again thanked the Pope for this pious office, performed to effect the peace; and then commenced saying diffusely how much he had always wished for it, and how from the beginning he had not only been disposed to abide by the last agreement made by the King, his father, with the Emperor, but was also content to increase and augment his friendship with him, to effect which he attempted by many ways, some of which he narrated to Pole; but as they were not accepted, and as it did not appear that the Emperor ever held his friendship in account, an opportunity for war occurring subsequently, the peace was broken. And the King declared that it was not by his fault, nor because he had given cause for it, but that he entered upon this war provoked (*spinto*) by these causes, nor at present has he reason to wish for peace, but rather for the war's progress; and of what sort that progress has been the King said was well known; notwithstanding which, on account of the common weal, he will always be ready to make peace, provided he sees reciprocity on the other side, and that fair terms be proposed tending to this end.

The King said all this very civilly (*con molto bel modo*), and with great moderation (*e con gran modestia*), never making any mention of the Emperor, save in honourable terms; and he also said that between himself and the Emperor there had not occurred those particular causes for enmity, which arose between the King, his father, and the Emperor, and made them even challenge each other; and that he himself has always esteemed the Emperor, with whom he was and is ready to form the best possible friendship (*ogni buona amicitia*), nor on his part will he fail to prove this by deeds. And

* "Non heri, l'altro." In the 16th and 17th centuries; the Italians thus expressed "the day before yesterday"—"Not yesterday, the day before." Cardinal Pole dined with Henry II. of France on the 2nd of April 1554.

† Con dirli poi che hora si aspettava che Sua Maestà in conformità del bon animo et dispositione che ella mostra alla pace facesse tal risposta alle domande dell' Imperatore che havesse a dar certo testimonio a tutto il mondo de questa sua volontà.

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with regard to replying to the Emperor's proposal, made through the Cardinal of Imola, as Pole requested, he said in the first place that was done at the time, but that he might speak about it to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, who would explain the King's mind more fully to him, repeating again, and confirming, his good disposition towards peace.

On the morrow, which was yesterday, these two personages came to Pole, and the first to speak was the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose discourse was a mere introduction, he referring himself to the Constable, to whom he deferred both on account of his age and authority, and because his Excellency had the chief charge of these affairs. At the commencement of his discourse, the Constable expatiated even more than he had done the first time on the King's goodwill and inclination towards the peace, and then justified more in detail the cause of the war, by showing that the King had been compelled to enter upon it, repeating more distinctly what the King and his Excellency had told Pole previously. He also confirmed their goodwill towards peace; but with regard to the point of the reply which remained to be given, he said in the first place that it had been already delivered, alleging both time, place, and form. And having brought with him the Emperor's identical proposal, he requested the Nuncio, who was present, (and very opportunely assisted Pole, as he had done previously during the negociation,) to read it; and thus in the course of perusal the Constable purposed answering article by article, which Pole sought adroitly to prevent, by inviting the Nuncio to continue the reading, so as subsequently to obtain a more positive and coherent (*più risoluta et unita*) reply in writing to all the articles together, and not merely by word of mouth, as he feared they intended doing.

When the writing had been read, the Constable again said that there was no occasion to make any further reply; to which Pole rejoined, showing on the contrary that it was necessary both to reply and to make the answer in such a form as to render manifest to everybody the goodwill of his Majesty. This Pole urged to the utmost, setting forth to them what he had negotiated with the Bishop of Arras, from whom he had endeavoured to obtain [the assurance] of some intention, which might give hope of being able to modify their proposal in such parts as needful (*che fossero convenienti*), and in conformity with the answer made to him by their Lordships; coming to the conclusion that it was for France to make this modification, and that the reply to be given them would prove consistent, provided they proposed reasonable terms, and showed that on this side they had really the wish to make a good and lasting peace.*

Pole, therefore, repeated that it was necessary to make a fresh reply, and such as to testify the goodwill both of the King and of their Lordships; about which they at length said they would speak again to the King, and that they hoped in this respect Pole would be satisfied.

* Concludendo ch  a questa parte toccava la detta modificazione, et ch  all' hora cos  risponderiano, quando si proponessero cose che havessero del ragionevole e che dimostrassero che dal canto di qua, se havesse veramente voglia di far una buona et stabile pace.

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DI MONTE.
(4th April.)

His secretary, Fiordibello, whom he left at Brussels with orders to await the Nuncio's arrival, and to follow after his first audience of the Emperor, has brought him the Pope's brief, addressed to the Queen of England, together with Cardinal di Monte's letters of the 28th February in reply to Pole's of the 28th January and 12th February. Pole hopes that the missing packet about which the Cardinal writes will have arrived subsequently, and that he will also have received the last letters which Pole wrote, on his departure from Brussels, and from St. Denis.

On the second day after his arrival at Fontainebleau, there made his appearance unexpectedly, one of the sons of his sister* [Ursula], who has allowed himself to be induced by evil counsel to quit England, with his brother-in-law and another gentleman, solely on account of dissatisfaction at this marriage made by the Queen (*per la mal contentezza de questo matrimonio della Regina*); and he had the audacity to present himself to Pole, who, on hearing the cause of his departure, expelled him his presence instantly (*subito lo scacciai da me*), desiring his (Pole's) attendants not to associate with him. This circumstance has greatly displeased Pole on many accounts.

This evening, the King sent to Pole, by one of the Royal secretaries, a certain writing in reply to the Emperor's proposal, of rather an irritating tenour than otherwise (*più tosto irritativa che altramente*), and which he will transmit in a few days by a messenger express, acquainting the Pope at the same time with what little else he may be able to elicit from the King, of whom he is to have audience tomorrow preparatory to his (Pole's) departure; and at any rate, he has determined that the best thing for him to do is to proceed towards Brussels, should the French ministry say nothing to the contrary, without sending any other messenger in advance, save on arriving at Cambrai, with the intention of making a final effort, if possible, to bring the negociation to some commencement with one side and the other, avoiding to the utmost all cause for mental irritation.

Next Sunday, the 8th (God willing), Pole purposes making his public entry into Paris, being invited thus to do in the name of his Majesty, who also chooses him to publish the jubilee; and they also, with all courtesy, invite him to make use of his powers (*facoltà*), offering to have them published; and on the morrow he will set out for Brussels, where he hopes to arrive before the 20th instant.

Having written thus far yesterday evening, he went this morning to take leave of the King, from whom, although he used every endeavour, he was unable to obtain any of the points (*particolari*) desired by him, as he will acquaint the Pope in detail by the messenger to be sent hereafter; and, in the meanwhile, he humbly kisses Cardinal di Monte's hand, requesting him, with due reverence, to kiss in his name his Holiness's feet.

From Fontainebleau, 4th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

* Query, Robert or Thomas Stafford, sons of Ursula Pole, by her husband, William Lord Stafford. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index and pp. 69 and 79, Nos. 177 and 198.)

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April 4.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.**872. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.**

"Our" Fiordibello brought him Cardinal Morone's letter of the 28th February, written in reply to several of Pole, and together with it was the supplementary brief for the powers (*facultà*) to confirm the Bishops and perform other necessary acts in England, concerning which he will say nothing further, referring himself to what Ormanetto is writing to Messer Giovanni Francesco. Will continue to follow the prudent and loving suggestion of Cardinal Morone about writing to the Palace; and thanks him much for the affection demonstrated as usual in his favour in this and all other matters. Subsequently, on his way hither to the Court, he received Cardinal Morone's other letters, dated 19th March, giving advice of the receipt of all his other letters written from Brussels.

Returns thanks to Cardinal Morone, for the office performed with his Holiness on account of his appointments (*mei provisioni*), praying him to kiss the Pope's feet in his name for his Holiness's graciousness in providing for his need even by extraordinary means. Has availed himself of the very prudent suggestions of Cardinal Morone with regard to the most Christian King and the French Ministry, in proposing and treating the affair of the peace, concerning which he will say nothing more, as, together with the present letter, he is sending him a copy of what he writes to Cardinal di Monte, and of the reply given to Pole by his most Christian Majesty,* which he will send to Brussels.

The coming of Pole's nephew to Fontainebleau has greatly troubled him, and he would have felt it still more had not the Almighty in this matter, as in everything else, not disdained to comfort him through the faith which he has in His divine providence, whereby it was ordained that, when he left Dillingen to go to England, Pole determined not to give him any letter of recommendation, either to the Queen or to others.† As Pole has to return to Brussels about this affair of the peace, he would think it very desirable for the Nuncio in France not to depart, Pole, as stated, having found him very adroit, and an able instrument to negotiate with his Majesty and the French Ministry (*et con questi altri Signori*). This Pole mentions, having heard that the Pope seems to purpose sending another in his stead; and therefore he notifies this his opinion to Cardinal Morone, that he may speak about it to his Holiness.

From Fontainebleau, 4th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 5.

Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xxi. p. 99.**873. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That out of the moneys appointed for ambassadors 250 ducats be paid to the nobleman Ser Lorenzo Soranzo, son of Ser Francesco, on account of moneys disbursed by his brother Ser Jacomo Soranzo,

* Not found.

† By Pole's letters from Dillingen, dated 20th and 22nd October, it appears that the nephew then in his company was Thomas Stafford.

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knight, the Signory's ambassador in England, for carriage of letters, fees to couriers, and other expenses.

Ayes, 24. No, 1. Neutrals, 2.

His father, Ser Francesco, member of the Junta, withdrew.

[*Italian.*]

April 6.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 14.

874. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAIO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The ambassador of the Queen of England has been recalled from Brussels by her Majesty, as she purposes sending him with other personages to Spain to the Prince the Emperor's son, the English advices stating that these personages were to depart immediately.* The Prince will come speedily to consummate his marriage with the Queen, and the French are fitting out and arming ships and other vessels in several places off the coast of Brittany, along which the Prince will pass, and they are mustering a large number of infantry in those parts, and according to report the Marquis of Brandenburg has entered the service of the most Christian King.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

April 8.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

875. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Deems it his duty to give the Pope a more particular account of all that has passed hitherto, both in the matter of the negociation about England as also about that of the peace, than can be transmitted by letter. For this purpose, has made choice of the gentleman the bearer of these credentials,† of whose good and rare qualities the Pope will have heard from Pole's agent, and Pole himself has had experience of him. Beseeches the Pope to give the messenger full credence for whatever he shall announce in Pole's name, and to acquaint him subsequently with his Holiness's pleasure with regard to the doubts raised by Pole.

From Paris; 8th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 20.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

876. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL DI MONTE.

His last, dated the 10th from St. Denis, were sent through Dr. Chizzola, and previously from Fontainebleau he wrote an account to Cardinal di Monte of all his negociations at the French Court; and then continuing his journey back to Brussels, was met three days before his arrival by some gentlemen in the service of the Queen of Hungary, and afterwards by that same Mons. Adambri (*sic*) who accompanied him on his way towards France. Then on his arrival, which took place yesterday, he was met, according to the Emperor's order, by the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Arras, who were also accompanied by Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], he having arrived at Brussels two days previously.

* John Earl of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal, and Thomas Viscount Fitzwalter were at the Groyne on the 18th April 1554, and possibly were accompanied by Sir John Masone, who was ambassador at Brussels on the 28th November 1553. (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, pp. 32, 74.)

† It is seen by subsequent letters, that the gentleman was Dr. Chizzola, who afterwards accompanied Cardinal Pole to England.

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Pole expects to have speedy audience of the Emperor, and will give full notice of the whole to the Pope either by letter or by a messenger express.

From Brussels, 20th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 22.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

877. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By Dr. Chizzola, who was despatched on Pole's departure from St. Denis, he gave the Pope full information both of the affairs of England and of the peace, and his Holiness will have seen in writing the reply given him in the King's name. Having arrived at Brussels on the 19th, as he wrote to Cardinal di Monte, he yesterday, the 21st, had audience of the Emperor, to whom he narrated as delicately as he could the result of his negotiations in France, and the reply which was at length given him, endeavouring to mitigate it to the utmost, but without exhibiting the written document. In conclusion, Pole said he returned the more willingly to his Majesty, knowing that his stay in France might have been somewhat injurious to the quiet of England, concerning which matter he mentioned the coming of several Englishmen to France, including even his own nephew, and all that it had behoved him to say and do in this case.

The Emperor, in reply, did not seem to receive this proposal from the King in a way to give hope of what is desired, showing that he did not in the least believe that the French were acting sincerely. As Pole had stated to him how the King said he had never been otherwise than inclined to remain united with his Imperial Majesty, and that he had several times endeavoured to link himself more closely with him, but the wish not being reciprocated he was at length compelled to proceed to hostilities, yet was he not, nor should he ever be otherwise than inclined to this amity, most especially as between them there never had been those causes for enmity which arose between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty's father; to this the Emperor replied, that of yore from the King his father he had not in the course of many years received so many and such grievous injuries as King Henry had done him within a brief period. In short, he said nothing to indicate his approval of Pole's return, and the regard which he had evinced for the affairs of England by coming back to Brussels, but remarked that as Pole was unable to do anything further it would have been better for him to remain in France, or should that have appeared to him unbecoming for the above-mentioned reason, which his Majesty seemed to hold in account, that he should "have gone on his way,"* which were his precise words; and this they say suspecting that Pole's return may subject the Emperor to some reproof.†

* "Che io fosse andato di longo le quali furno le sue formali parole." Meaning that Cardinal Pole should have returned to Rome. (See also Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, vol. iii. p. 297, ed. Faenza, 1793.)

† E ciò dicono, dubitando che questa mia tornata potesse esser occasione de qualche suo incarico.

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Pole concluded by praying the Emperor of his piety and prudence to ponder the whole affair better, and not to lose the opportunity for doing that good towards which he is disposed; and with this he took leave of his Majesty.

Had thought it would be well for the Nuncio to go to the Bishop of Arras to perform such good offices as possible with him, but the Nuncio chancing to be present when the Bishop visited Pole, who commenced talking to him about what he had already discussed with the Emperor, the Bishop interrupted him, saying it was unnecessary to make further repetition, as his Majesty had acquainted him with the whole, and that by no means could any other reply be expected than the one already given him. To acquaint the Pope with the whole more commodiously than he could by letter, he has thought it well to send him his auditor, Messer Nicolo Ormanetto, who knows every particular, and to whom he requests the Pope to give the same credence as he would to Pole himself.

From Brussels, 22nd April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 24.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

878. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The Pope will be fully acquainted with everything by Pole's auditor, so he has nothing else to say to his Holiness save to beseech him not to have the slightest scruple with regard to Pole himself individually, and to remain very sure that he will be most perfectly satisfied with whatever the Pope shall be pleased to command him; and he has been induced to write this letter fearing lest his Holiness's great graciousness might cause him to do otherwise, which on no account would Pole wish; and he humbly kisses the Pope's most holy feet.

From Brussels, 24th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

879. CARDINAL POLE to MONSIGNOR SANTA CROCE, Nuncio in France.

Arrived at Brussels on the 19th instant, and on the 21st had audience of the Emperor, to whom he narrated the summary of what he had negotiated in the Pope's name with his most Christian Majesty, and what he had brought back. Although Pole did not fail to make the statement in such form as seemed to him most expedient to obtain the result desired for the common weal, yet could he not comprehend from the Emperor's words that there is either desire or hope for any negotiation about the matter of the peace. So perceiving that for the present he can do nothing, he acquainted the Pope with the whole and awaits his orders, not ceasing to pray God to point out the means, which man cannot discover, for pacifying these two great sovereigns for the consolation and safety of Christendom. Subsequently, Pole caused the written reply which he brought with him to be delivered to the Bishop of Arras, from whom he has heard nothing further; and this he notifies to the Nuncio, that he may no longer remain in suspense, and that it may be communicated

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to his most Christian Majesty and the other personages of the French Court.

From Brussels, 26th April 1554.

[*Italian.*]

May 11.
Original
despatch.
Venetian
Archives.

880. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Papal Nuncio here received letters lately from the Right Rev. Legate [Cardinal Pole], dated [Brussels?] 27th ult., whereby it is understood that Pole having had audience of the Emperor, to whom he announced what he brought back from this court, his Majesty replied that, as the King held out for honour (*stava su l'honorevole*), and made the great demands notified by me to your Serenity, the Emperor would make no further reply, save that both parties should attend to their interests, and that he would not make any agreement with the King, unless to his own honour, he having no fear whatever of French bravadoes (*de bravate de Francesi*). So the Nuncio having sent the identical letters of Cardinal Pole to the Constable for communication to the most Christian King, his Excellency said to their bearer that in a short while his Majesty's forces would be in such order as to enable the Emperor to ascertain whether they will be bravadoes or not; and to say the truth, since the receipt of this intelligence they seem here to be hastening their military preparations.

The Portuguese ambassador has news from Lisbon that the Princess, the Emperor's daughter [Joanna of Austria], was to leave Lisbon on the 6th instant for Valladolid, where she was to reside as Governess of Spain during the absence of her brother the Prince, he being still in that city, with the intention of going postwise to meet her; then proceeding straight to Coruña to embark at the end of this month on board the Fleet, and cross over to England together with 6,000 Spanish infantry, who, he says, are ready to embark; and that the English ambassadors had arrived at Bilbao; * and at this court it is said that the English Parliament had decreed that those who spoke against this marriage should incur the penalty of rebellion (*che quelli che parlassero contra questo matrimonio cadessero in penna (sic) di ribellione*).

Two days before I left Paris, the noble Zuam Michiel, destined by your Serenity to represent the Republic in England, arrived there; he continued his journey by the speediest and shortest road.

Compiegne, 11th May 1554.

[*Italian.*]

May 22.
Original
despatch.
Venetian
Archives.

881. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At the close of my conversation with the Constable [Anne de Montmorency], he told me he understood the Emperor was going

* By the Foreign Calendar, date 18 April 1554, p. 74, No. 188, it is seen that John Earl of Bedford Lord Privy Seal and Thomas Viscount Fitzwalter, landed not at Bilbao, but at Coruña.

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to Bruges, where some persons said he would be joined by the Prince of Spain, together with the Queen of England, for the consummation of the marriage in that place, which did not seem credible, seeing that the Queen of England scarcely ventured to go out of London, wherefore she would not absent herself from the realm, there being apprehension of some fresh tumult; but should the Emperor move to Bruges, it would be for the additional support of his interests in England (*per dar più favore alle cose sue in Inghilterra*), and to render the Queen as secure as he could. The Queen, by the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, caused divers persons to beheaded daily, of which fate her own sister ran great risk, having been a close prisoner for many days, though she is now understood to have been set somewhat more at liberty; and the Emperor, to secure England for his family, in case no children be born to the Queen, was negotiating the marriage of her sister aforesaid, to the Archduke of Austria [Ferdinand], son of the most Serene King of the Romans; and as to Courtenay, it was supposed he would be soon put to death; and were the right Rev. Cardinal Pole to go to England, the Constable believed the like would be done by him, so that no one who could lay claim to that crown might remain alive. (*“La quale per il medesimo effetto di sicurarsi meglio che può in quel Regno, col consiglio del Vescovo di Vincestre fa tagliare ogni di molte teste a diverse persone, del che la istessa soa sorella ne è stata in pericolo grande, essendo sta tenuta in gran stretta molti giorni, ma al presente si intendeva, che è alquanto allargata, et che l’Imperator per sicurarsi che quel Regno resti nella Casa soa, in caso che non nascessero figliuoli della detta Regina, trattava di maritare la predetta soa sorella nell’Arciduca d’Austria figliuolo del Seren^{mo}. Re de Romani; et a quanto a Cortenè si giudicava che questo sarebbe fatto morire; et che si per sorte il Rev^{mo}. Cardl. Polo andasse in Inghilterra, soa Eccellenza credeva che il medesimo sarebbe fatto a lui, perchè non restasse in vita più alcuno che possi pretender a quella Corona.”*)

Compiegne, 22nd May 1554.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.

882. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. cl. x. but thank him greatly in the first place for this labour of love, although their friendship is such as not to require a similar office. Printed in vol. 4. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," etc. pp. 138-148. Perceives to his very great regret what Morone tells him about the dissatisfaction which the Pope felt in consequence of certain advices given him by the Nuncio,* who, by a courier despatched from Brussels on the day of Pole's audience of the Emperor, wrote that his Majesty disapproved of his return. This news seemed the more distressing, as from the "Report" of Dr. Chizzola hopes had arisen of the total restoration (*reduitione*) of the realm of England to the union and obedience of the Church, there being also some idea of the possibility of commencing a negotiation for peace

* This Nuncio was the Dominican Fra Girolamo Mazzarelli. (See Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 296.)

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between these princes, about which the Pope spoke in consistory, thus rendering his own joy universal, and gave orders for fresh thanksgivings. Morone then adds, "*Sed ecce mutata sunt omnia*," by reason of the Nuncio's advices, which contained nothing but what could be known at the time, namely, that Pole's return had not been agreeable to the Emperor. Cannot comprehend how any of the news brought by Chizzola could be contradicted on this account, as it was all based not on words but on facts, such as the Queen's autograph letter to the Pope, the Bishops' proxies (*procure*), together with all the other advices from England authentically proved, so⁷ that for the desired conclusion of the total restoration of the realm to the obedience of the Church, nothing remained but the restoration (*la reduttione*) of the Church property as demanded by the Pope, although by the last letter written to Pole on the subject by the Bishop of Winchester (*de Mons. Vintoniense*), which Chizzola took with him, no hope whatever could be had that this restoration would be made in the last session of Parliament (*nel Parlamento ult^o finito*); neither does Pole see any change to the contrary, with regard to what Chizzola brought and narrated about the disposition (*animo*) evinced by the King, concerning the affair of the peace.

Although the Emperor did not subsequently demonstrate satisfaction at Pole's return, yet does he not see, most especially with regard to the matter of England, that this indicates such great change, the dissatisfaction relating not to the cause, but to Pole himself individually (*ma alla persona mia propria*). So should it be deemed that he is so connected with the cause, that by removing the cause would suffer, and he would thus displease the Pope, whereas a remedy might be applied by removing certain umbrage taken by the Emperor, and that this is in great part in Pole's power, Cardinal Morone may rest assured that Pole would rather die than fail to do his utmost to relieve the Pope from any anxiety.

This is the warning given to Pole by Morone in the rest of his letter, coupled with suggestions for the attainment of this end; touching which, what Pole might be able to effect will be more intelligible to Morone when he shall have heard what part of his suggestions Pole has already adopted. For instance, Morone, wishing to explain the causes which might have made the Emperor doubt his sincerity about the affair of the marriage, considers that one of them was Pole's habitual silence (*taciturnità*), and lack of such demonstration of joy as the circumstance required; wherefore Morone exhorts him to remedy this, by doing the contrary both in public and private, saying that this would be the sole remedy to remove every sort of umbrage.

Believes that he heretofore, by letter, assigned reasons to Morone, which in Pole's opinion might acquit him with every one, of not having been well satisfied with this marriage,* but he does not deny that whilst at Dillingen,† he abstained from speaking about

* Che al parer mio potria giustificarmi in questa parte, apresso ogn' uno che havesse opinione che non fusse ben contento di questo matrimonio.

† From the middle of October 1553 until January 1554.

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this matter, although it was publicly discussed by everybody; and that when writing, and at several times sending messengers to the Queen, even when the marriage was supposed to be concluded, he nevertheless did not write to her on the subject, neither did he give any opportunity for speaking about it. He acted thus, because it did not seem to him, in conformity with modesty nor expedient for the benefit of the chief cause of the religion which he had in hand, to speak about such a thing, before the person whom it concerned had either asked his opinion or given him any hint of it. But subsequently, on his arrival at Brussels, the Queen, by means of her ambassadors, caused him to be spoken to about the marriage, and informed of the reason which induced her to make it, saying that it was solely from her wish to be enabled perfectly to reform and establish the affairs of the religion through the union (*congiuntione*) with so powerful and Catholic a Prince, and simultaneously to give the entire realm some consolation from the hope of her having a successor.*

Thereupon, Pole thought it was the fitting moment to speak about the marriage, as he did, saying that these were the true means, and that her Majesty being induced to make it for such an end, it might be said that she did not marry of her own will, but that in fact God united her; for the auspicious result of which union Pole would always pray, offering to serve their Majesties in what he could to that effect; adding many other words of this tenour, and making as it were a public speech. Morone was also informed of what Pole said in conformity with this to the Emperor at his first audience, moved by what Morone had written to him on the subject according to the Pope's order, announcing his Holiness's joy at this marriage, and then saying the same with regard to himself, offering his services, &c.

From that time to this, Pole, when speaking with the personages of the Imperial Court, and with the ambassadors sent thither from England, has never allowed any opportunity to escape for very clearly expressing his goodwill in this matter; nor has he failed subsequently to do the like with the Queen by letters, and by means of the messengers whom he had occasion to send to her. All this he did before his departure from France; and the Divine Providence, to prevent any suspicion and dispel all umbrage from the Emperor's mind, foreseeing perhaps that no verbal evidences would suffice for the purpose, as it may be always said they are words, as are writings also, afforded him the opportunity of giving testimony of his mind by deed,—which opportunity was such that had he opened his breast he could not have more clearly shown the sincerity of his heart,—rebuking his nephew [Thomas Stafford] and expelling him his house in the way he did, without even choosing to see certain letters which he wished to give Pole from malcontents as impassioned as his nephew himself; and Pole subsequently spoke to the King, exhorting him not to give ear to similar persons and proposals. From this mode of proceeding, bearing in mind the time

* Et per dar insieme a tutto il regno qualche consolatione della successione sua.

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and place and the Prince, who perhaps heretofore, for similar causes, would have wished Pole to have visited his kingdom before going to the Low Countries, and by his departing immediately after this* those persons who consider all these circumstances, may, he believes, see that he could give neither a greater nor a surer pledge of his goodwill, so that had any umbrage remained, it would all have been removed by this act alone, on account of which, had nothing else come of it, he expected that his return to Brussels would have been most acceptable; and he also purposed continuing to testify his goodwill by words as he best might.

On hearing that the Parliament had concluded nothing further about the return of the kingdom to the obedience, he did not write to the Queen, not choosing to distress her by complaining of this delay, as he interpreted and understood it to proceed less from her than from the Providence of God, who had ordained that in like manner as by the matrimonial discord of an English King and of a Spanish Queen, the obedience of the Church was abolished (*levato*) by that kingdom, so by the matrimonial concord of a Spanish King and of an English Queen was it to return. Pole, therefore, prayed God for the speedy and auspicious coming of the Prince, nor does he doubt but that in the next Parliament holden the first act will decree the return of the realm to the obedience of the Church, as the foundation of all the good which may be expected from a King and Queen who are so Catholic.

Wrote this in his last letters to her Majesty, and argues in the same strain with everybody; and to those who, because the King is a foreigner, seem dissatisfied with this marriage, he is accustomed to say that God wills to deceive the English (for their consolation) with this foreign King, in like manner as they deceived themselves—to the offence of God, and so much to their own public and private detriment—in King Henry, in whom they had placed their whole hope of worldly felicity; and that in like manner as for trusting too much in that Prince and forgetting God, they were so chastised that no hostile foreign Prince could have punished them more severely, so at present, when apprehensive of losing all consolation by having a foreign King, they, if they obey God, will be deceived to their advantage, finding greater consolation in him than could be expected by them from any native sovereign. Thus does Pole converse and reason with everybody, be they satisfied or dissatisfied, and makes himself, as it were, a prophet for the purpose of soothing those who are irritated, and confirming the bias of the well disposed as much as he can by words; and if this be not sufficient to remove all umbrage, he knows not what more he can do; and any further step would make him suspect himself of affectation, of which he is by nature very abhorrent,† and render him less persuasive than he wishes to be; notwithstanding which, should any better means be suggested to him, he has not the slightest objection to carry them into effect, having no scruples of conscience whatever; and this he says before

* This somewhat obscure passage is explained by a subsequent paragraph.

† Et ogni passo che andasse più oltre dubitarei de haver dell' affectato dal che per natura Io sono assai ad (*sic*) horrente.

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God, and, although at the commencement this marriage-case seemed to him a disputable problem—in *utramque partem* whether advantageous for the parties or not, it appearing to him of more doubtful profit to the Prince than to the Queen—nevertheless, now that it is concluded, he accepts this marriage as a fixed article (*un articolo fermo*) of the providence of God—who alone may gainsay it—and all Pole's deeds and words have been in conformity with this precept.

This will suffice in reply to Morone's exhortations, that Pole should endeavour to remove from the Emperor's mind any umbrage conceived by him with regard to this marriage, nor can he see that his Majesty could have any other umbrage or other cause for taking offence, either on account of this his return from France, or for what he negotiated; there being two most cogent reasons for his return, for one of which he deserved to be thanked, and his Imperial Majesty, moreover, seemed to approve and be gratified by it, namely, that he returned the more willingly to Brussels, to avoid the concourse of those opponents of the marriage who went over to France. Although he gave them no harbour (*ricapito*), and was moreover contrary to them, the mere report of his remaining in France might nevertheless have encouraged many persons in England to depart thence (not being distinctly acquainted with his opinions), as several did, during his brief stay in the French territory. So that by his departure, depriving every one of any hope in him, he did service both to the Queen and to the Emperor, and showed how much he desired the quiet of England, and failed not, at the risk of offending the most Christian King and others, to perform such offices, as he did, departing immediately afterwards; and had there been no other cause, this would have amply sufficed to justify his departure from France.

Concerning the matter of the peace Morone has heard everything, and seen the King's reply, which is made in such a way that the Emperor having predetermined to make either war or peace might take just occasion from that writing to do either one or the other, for should he wish to make war he may take the opportunity from the exaggerated demands made in the first part of the writing, and if he intends to make peace the last part opens the road for him to commence negotiations, most especially as Pole narrated what had been said to him verbally on the subject by the French ministry; so that had he been the most astute man in the world, and his sole object that of serving the Emperor, he could not have done better than the occasion caused him to do, without astuteness of any sort. Should the Pope be of opinion, as Morone writes, that Pole has not given any just cause of offence, he may be yet more confirmed in it on learning more in detail how matters passed; and as Morone says that Pole's silence might have caused his nephew [Thomas Stafford] to believe and tell others that he, Pole, was not well satisfied with this marriage, he chooses Morone to learn the opportunity granted him by the Almighty at Dillengen for proving quite the contrary, for whilst there his said nephew having in the presence of others uttered certain words evincing great displeasure that

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the Queen should marry a foreigner, Pole reproved him sharply,* and for this reason would by no means allow of his then going to England, but as he nevertheless chose to go contrary to Pole's opinion, he would not write to the Queen or others in recommendation of him, nor allow any of the rest of his retinue (*ne lasciar che altri mei*) to make mention of him in England.

It remains for Pole to answer the last part of Morone's letter, where he endeavours to remove the suspicion which he supposes Pole to entertain that the Emperor is offended with him, so that he wishes to be recalled, Morone showing that Pole was deceived in the chief suspicion, based on the sudden departure of that courier, which mistake has given him pleasure. But if Morone will consider the words said to him about his return, first of all by the Emperor, and the mode of discourse subsequently held with him by the Bishop of Arras, and what he afterwards said still more openly to the Nuncio, Morone will perceive that if they did not choose to have recourse to the cudgel and drive him away, it was impossible for their language to be more violent, and had he not taken it in this sense he would have shown himself to be little more than a stone. Will not repeat the words, knowing that Morone will have heard the whole [from the Nuncio]† and from Ormanetto; but to tell him the thing as it is, neither the Emperor's language nor that of the Bishop of Arras caused him to suspect them of seeking his recall, but the Nuncio, with good reason, was the first to draw this inference, from the sudden departure of the courier; and as notwithstanding all this, Pole could not convince himself thoroughly of the fact, he requested the Nuncio to speak with the Bishop of Arras to ascertain better the Emperor's mind, as he did, and on hearing what Morone knows, it then seemed to Pole that both one and the other of them had just cause to think that these Imperialists (*questi Signori*) were determined he should not remain in those parts.

Morone is not, however, to suppose that Pole failed to bear in mind his hint, that the Emperor, if from no other cause, at least on account of his own honour, when he heard what Pole brought from France, could not but show himself dissatisfied, and that this dissatisfaction did not arise on account of Pole individually, but by reason of this reply. Such was Pole's interpretation also; in proof of which although he knew of the departure of the courier he would not write until he heard further, solely to avoid saddening the Pope, until more convinced by deeper investigation of the basis and root of the matter. But when he heard the words uttered by the Bishop of Arras, considering at the same time all that had been said and done by the Emperor from the commencement of his legation down to the present time, as also the sudden departure of this courier, Pole inferred that this resolve was positive, and that

* Havendo esso mio nepote detto alcune parole in presentia di altri per le quale mostrava gran dispiacere che la Regina fusse per maritarsi in un forastiero, io lo rebuffai acerbamente.

In the printed version (vol. iv. p. 144, last line) "*mostrava grandissimo piacere*." The mistake is a very gross one, and vitiates the sense of the whole letter, which is one of the most interesting in the collection.

† As in vol. iv. Epist. etc., p. 146.

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the Pope to avoid distressing him (as he might apprehend, knowing his gracious nature) was induced to retract his assurance;* and thereupon, despairing of any good result, Pole determined to write and beseech his Holiness not to have the slightest regard in this case for him personally, but solely to consider the cause and the satisfaction of the Emperor, without which there was no hope of doing anything.

Morone will thus see whence Pole's request proceeded, not from any wish for repose nor from any other motive, but merely that his Holiness might be better served, seeing that in this matter for one reason or another (*per qual rispetto si voglia*) Pole was personally disagreeable to this sovereign; and if in this respect he had deceived himself, and if his Majesty shows himself averse to him, as hinted by Morone, merely on the point of honour, most especially considering what he said to him at the time that as to Pole's goodwill towards him he was very sure of it (*considerando massimamente quel che sua Mtà. mi disse al hora, che quanto al animo mio verso Lei ella era sicurissima*),† but that Pole's return to Brussels was a great affront to him; Pole leaves this and everything else relating to himself and the negotiation, to the very prudent judgment of his Holiness after he shall have seen Pole's letters, and heard Ormanetto's "Relation," considering also what may have been conjectured subsequently to the contrary, namely, that the Emperor would perhaps not dislike Pole's remaining at Brussels, owing to some new idea formed by them on the subject, and from what the Queen caused to be said to his messenger, of which Pole's Messer Gio. Francesco‡ will give the Pope account.

Morone will see that such is the state of the case; nor has Pole anything more to say, save that after the Pope shall have decided as God will have inspired him to do in this business, should he think that Pole's personal services can benefit it, he will refuse neither trouble, toil, nor danger, which he knows the cause must bring him; but that cause, and the person who has to command him, are such that not only will he not shun them, but willingly undergo any peril and hardship; and by God's grace he has no need to be exhorted thus to do, as Morone of his piety exhorts him at the close of his letter, to which part he will reply in his own hand, that he may complain to him more freely and express better his inmost sense in the matter, as at present he does not choose complaints to interfere with the thanks which he is bound to return him for these and so many other loving offices both in this and every other business relating to Pole, for which he knows himself to be more obliged to him than to any other friend he has in the world.

It now behoves him to ask pardon of Morone for having wearied him with so long a letter, although as Morone sees he could not do

* Et che ne (*sic*) S. Stà per non contristarmi, come Io potevo dubitare conoscendo la sua benigna natura, se inducesse a far replica.

† In vol. iv. Epist. etc., p. 147, "considerando ultimamente quel che sua Maestà disse all' hora che quanto all' animo mio verso di . . . ella era sicurissima."

‡ Gianfrancesco Stella. (See Pallavicino, vol. iii. p. 297.)

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less than write at length; notwithstanding which, he has not yet said all that would be necessary for the cause, so he prays him to hear the rest from Pole's agent, and to consider what he is certain he knows, that this cause, or these causes, are not Pole's more than they are Morone's, by reason of the pious mind with which God has endowed Morone towards his honour and the common weal and service of his Holiness; and with this making an end, he humbly kisses his hand, recommending himself to his devout orisons.

From the monastery of Dilingan (*sic*) near Brussels, 23th May 1554.

*Autograph Postscript.**

Morone warns him, in case the Nuncio did not communicate to him the letter sent by the first courier, that he is not to show the Nuncio the letter addressed to Pole by Morone, nor has he shown it; as not only did the Nuncio say nothing to Pole at the time of having written, but when Pole's abbot [Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto] asked him about this, he denied having written, and apologized to Pole for this contradiction (*di questa varietà*), showing that he did everything for a good end, and Pole cannot believe it to be otherwise, as he is more than sure of the Nuncio's love and good will to him, which Pole deservedly reciprocates. With regard to his mode of writing, namely, that whilst Pole was speaking to the Emperor, he was not so far off as not to hear a few words, especially the following—that the Emperor would have wished Pole, as he had no further reply from the King, to return to Italy by another road; although it might be suspected to imply that the Nuncio was dissatisfied, because Pole did not call him to be present when he had his conference with the Emperor, Pole cannot suppose that by this form of speech the Nuncio intended to say that he was not altogether pleased at Pole's not taking him in his company when he went to confer with the Emperor, which he could not have done, even had the Nuncio been his colleague; nor does he know whether he did right in doing what he could to have him called subsequently, with the Emperor's permission (*piacendo all' Imperatore*), when some conversation on the subject took place with his Majesty; but the Emperor interrupted the discourse in such a way it was impossible (*ma l'Imp. interruppe il ragionamento in tal modo, che non si puote far cio*), and Pole called the Nuncio, leaving the Bishop of Arras alone, and had this last been called by the Emperor, Pole doubts whether from the interruption caused by one and the other, he should have been able to understand his Majesty's will (*mente*) as well as when talking alone with him. But be this as it may, with regard to the disposition (*animo*) of the Nuncio, he cannot but take whatever Pole did in very good part; and as for his writing unknown to Pole, he did what all novices are accustomed to do when they commence negotiating, to show themselves intelligent and diligent as they ought to be.

* The post-script is not printed in the 4th vol. "Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," Letter 52, pp. 138-148.

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With regard to his nephew [Thomas Stafford], Pole forget to mention that on hearing of his having behaved so well in the Queen's service against the Duke of Norfolk (*sic*) [Suffolk],* for which he is greatly praised by everybody, Pole gave him to understand that he had forgiven him for going to England contrary to his will and opinion; and that should he continue to serve her Majesty well and faithfully, he would always be ready to show him such favour as he could; so that both from this, and from what has been already written in the letter, it can be seen that Pole's silence could not have caused him to act thus, as even he himself, after being rebuked at Fontainebleau, and driven away, confessed that he had neither promised himself nor expected any other reply from Pole.

[Italian.]

May 25. †
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

883. CARDINAL POLE to his AGENT in ENGLAND.

Writes him this for his more full and ample instruction about what he has to treat at present in Pole's name with the Queen, about the affairs of the religion.

Pole has been informed through a good channel, that there are certain persons in high authority, who not approving what has been done with regard to the absolution from schism demanded lately by certain bishops lately created, and which was conceded them, may possibly endeavour to persuade the Queen that it would be unadvisable (*che non saria ben fatta*) for any single person (*alcuna persona particolare*) to request such absolution, or to seek any reconciliation with the Church, until the return of the whole realm to the obedience of the Apostolic See be determined and concluded by the public consent of Parliament.

Considering therefore what sort of counsel this is (*che sorte de consiglio sia questo*), and that being adopted, it would utterly cancel the merit obtained with God, for the most laudable act performed in England with regard to the religion since the Queen came to the crown, and as this counsel would thus impede and irreparably injure all those whom God has inspired, and will inspire, with the very devout wish to return to the unity of the Church, Pole deems it his duty towards God, and her Majesty, and the whole realm, and becoming his legatine office, to warn the Queen of the poison concealed in the said counsel (*del veleno che sta nascosto nel detto consiglio*), and therefore charges his agent to inform her Majesty in his name of what he has heard and feared; for if it be true, as must be better known to her Highness than to any one else, and if this persuasion (*persuasione*) has not yet been employed, but deferred or totally suppressed, which is not impossible, it is fitting she should be informed of all that may be proposed to her, both that her Majesty may be confirmed in the holy act already performed by

* Thomas Stafford served probably under his kinsman the Earl of Huntingdon, whose pursuit of Suffolk is mentioned by Froude, vol. vi. pp. 154, 169. The Duke of Norfolk was always true to Queen Mary, and died, being 80 years of age, on the 25th August 1554. (See Collins, vol. i. p. 98.)

† No date of the day of the month in MS.

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her, as also by the grace of God to render her more ready to resist any such counsel and persuasion as may be offered her hereafter.

The agent is therefore to inform her Majesty of the quality of this sort of counsel, which thwarts those, who, being harassed by conscience and the embarrassment of schism, demand and insist on demanding (*dimandano et dimanderiano*) absolution. Is to demonstrate to the Queen that this counsel, which defers the absolution from the schism committed, is no less odious before God than the act and counsel of those of whom Christ says, "*Vae illis qui scandalizant unum tantum ex pusillis istis*," such being those who from weakness of faith and not from malice, lapsed into the schism, not having had sufficient strength of mind to resist the fear of the sword hanging over their heads, and which threatened them with death. To impede the spiritual salvation of the meanest individual would be odious to God; and more odious to act thus towards others whose high position and example might be of great assistance, if not impeded by the Bishops, who, wishing to be reconciled and being rejected on account of this counsel, might renounce their holy intention of returning to the bosom of the Church.

Is to request her Majesty to be pleased to consider what sort of counsel this is, there being so great a multitude infected with schism, to prevent an individual, either of high or low degree, he having by especial grace of God the desire to return to the obedience of the Church, from executing his holy desire, until all the others are convinced, and induced to do the like. This counsel may be compared to a case in a pest-house, where there being a great number of patients, and a certain remedy being proposed for one of them, it is rejected because it cannot be taken simultaneously by all the others. Such in truth is this counsel; and if it be contrary to all reason as applied to bodily infirmities, how much less can it be admitted for the grave and pernicious infirmities of the soul, amongst which schism is the chief. And this counsel is so much the more pernicious when speaking of a bishop, whose individual recovery it would be most unfitting to delay for one single hour or moment, still less for weeks and months.

This reason, together with the others, being represented to her Majesty, Pole hopes, from the great favour which God has hitherto conceded to her spiritual and temporal welfare, that she will not need further exhortation than she has already received from his Divine Majesty, warning her of the mischievous effects and great detriment of such counsel, so contrary to the Queen's holy acts performed in this matter. And the agent is to demonstrate that her Highness should not only not draw back in this case, but that the longer Parliament delays decreeing the universal return of the realm to the obedience of the Church, the more should she endeavour that private individuals having this desire should not only without any obstacle on her part be enabled to have recourse to the place and persons with whom they will find that remedy which will restore them to health and to the grace of God, but that they should also know that her Majesty will the more commend them the more speedily and fervently they seek to obtain it. By acting

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thus, the Queen will do the will of that great Lord who has given her *potestatem gladii*, which power is declared by St. Paul, who says, "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same."*

Above all, with regard to the bishops, whose nomination belongs to the Queen, her Highness has to observe this—that no one who has fallen into the schism, and finds himself separated from the obedience to the Church, to the observance of which all Catholic bishops are especially bound by oath, be allowed to assume any ecclesiastical cure (*entri ad haver alcuna cura nella Chiesa*), until he be reconciled to God through his return to the obedience of that Church. The observance of this rule would not only be spiritually beneficial to private individuals (*persone particolari*), and to pastors and their flocks, until the return of all be established by public consent, but when this return shall be proposed in Parliament, this precedent will render it of much more easy attainment. For this reason Pole commenced by saying that this act of bringing back the Bishops without delay from the schism to the unity and obedience of the Church was the most praiseworthy act performed by her Majesty since it has pleased God to give her the crown; and Pole trusts she will persevere in this course until the Almighty give her the grace to induce the whole body of the realm, by common consent, to accept the obedience to the Apostolic See, for which Pole, in company with all those who sincerely love and desire the honour of God, and the welfare of the Queen, pray constantly.

From the monastery of Diligano (*sic*) [near Brussels], . . . [25?] May 1554.*

[*Italian.*]

May 28.

884. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

MS. St. Mark's Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Printed in

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

v. iv. pp. 133-

138.

Will not keep him longer in suspense about what he wrote in his last reply to Morone's letter of the 6th, that he had cause to complain of Morone, who, when exhorting him to convince the Emperor and everybody of the sincerity of his mind, showed he suspected that from satiety of worldly affairs, and not thirsting much for fame,† Pole willingly avails himself of any opportunity to withdraw from the negotiation of business (*da ritirarmi da negotij*) and return to privacy. Morone says that although God is sufficient of himself to direct matters as He pleases, and maintain his glory, He, nevertheless, chooses us likewise not to neglect the opportunities which He sends us for doing his will. This mode of persuasion on this subject, had it been adopted by anyone else

* Romans xiii. 3.

† According to Froude (vol. vi. p. 198) already on the 6th April 1554, the Government had availed itself of the Pope's permission to fill the vacant sees; but by this letter it would seem that the measure was still opposed by Paget and the party of the statesmen, the rivals of Gardiner, on the 25th May, which date I assign to the letter, because on that day Pole wrote to Morone from the monastery of Diligano (*sic*).

‡ Et per haver la mente non molto avida d' honor.

1554.

CARDINAL POLE
to CARDINAL
MORONE.
(28th May.)

not intimately familiar with him and acquainted with his opinions, would not have surprised him; as in conversation he is often accustomed to attribute the entire glory of every work to God, saying that what is best is known to Him; Pole also often withdrawing from active life for the enjoyment of study, and not showing himself desirous of those grades which bring with them greater occupation through business.

This might give any other person than Morone cause to think either that he is very indolent because he holds his private studies in more account than any sort of active life, or else that he shares the opinions of those, who are convinced that as God by his providence and omnipotence accomplishes everything, they have merely to remain idle, as He will discover and employ them immediately. But that Morone, who by this time must know Pole, should seem to share this opinion, cannot but surprise him, most especially as by reason of their intimacy, Morone not only knows what those studies are, which, as some persons suppose, render him too much of a recluse, but also the cause of his pursuing them.* Of that cause (the opportunity for doing so being now afforded him) he will now remind him, by stating the object of his actions, and the extreme limit of his ambition, which in truth, as he remembers to have told Morone heretofore, has never been so great (whether from pusillanimity or some other cause) as to make him wish to be that chief or magistrate (*magistrato*) who has to command all men, assigning to each individual his task, though he has never been averse, but on the contrary always inclined, to serve those who, finding themselves in that position, know how to command well, and have the wish to do so.

Thus far has it been his desire and ambition to lead an active life, and by "commanding well," he means whatever relates to the honour of God, and to the attainment of the welfare of others. This has been his desire and sentiment always; nor does he ever remember to have withdrawn either from the service of his Sovereign or from that of any private friend, save because they had not recourse to him; or, if they did call him, did not allow of his serving to their true welfare and advantage. Testimony hereof can be borne not merely by one part of his life, but by its whole tenour, down to the present time, ever since he was old enough to take service, and commencing with that Prince [Henry VIII.] to whom he was more bound by nature than to any other, and so anxious to serve him that he would have done so, at the cost of any sort of toil, and even if necessary by risking his own life rather than enjoy length of days in all prosperity in the service of others; which shows that he renounced King Henry's service for no other reason than because the first service demanded of him was contrary to his Majesty's honour and advantage. Pole did this, although by means of the proposed service, there was opened to him, in his own country, the path to dignity and riches; and that he renounced his

* As admitted by his enemies both at home and abroad, Reginald Pole was always intent on the reform of the Roman Catholic church.

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service for no other cause may be seen by what he did subsequently, when called by that Sovereign [Pope Paul III.] whom God has ordered all men to obey for his honour, and by whom Pole having been several times enjoined to perform commissions not only toilsome and fatiguing but also very dangerous, no one can with truth say that he ever retreated a single step to avoid either trouble, fatigue, or any danger, having always been most ready to obey them.

From this fact, and from all Pole's other actions, those who may chose well to investigate his career will find the cause of his declining negotiations, which he never shunned nor renounced for his own private studies, which he does not consider worthy to take precedence of the slightest service he could render to the meanest person in the world, though it is very true that he has never been accustomed to interfere and canvass employment, always waiting to be called, from fear of committing the same error as that of those persons of whom God says through the Prophet, "*ipsi currebant et ego non mittebam illos.*" Would not therefore feel surprised (as said by him above) if other persons ill acquainted with his life and the inward workings of his mind were to attribute his withdrawal to other causes than the true one, which is, that he always waited to be called, and to receive commands from those to whom God has given authority to command him in whatever related to his Divine Majesty, and to their true honour and advantage; and in that case he trusts in God, that neither trouble nor danger of any sort would compel him willingly to retreat.

But to enter now more into details about the negotiations he has now in hand at Brussels; Morone might inquire why, being called to a service which he always professed to desire, he should now seem desirous of relinquishing the negotiation. To this he will say in the first place what he thinks, which is, that he has such satisfaction, at being called, and for such a service! that his satisfaction is the greatest he could desire in this world, and he considers it a greater benefice than if the Pope had conferred on him alone all the benefices bestowed by him since his accession on all the rest of the cardinals together. And the true cause of this his great satisfaction is the one aforesaid, when he stated the limits of his ambition and his wish to serve such a master on such service; which satisfaction increases hourly by seeing himself stimulated by the Pope to this end without expecting from his service anything but the true honour of God and his own, together with the common weal, at which Pole rejoices immeasurably, it being the thing desired by him beyond all others. Nor may Morone suppose, that in negotiating this matter he does not know the nature of the sea of England in which he has to navigate, and what storms and toils he must endure to bring the ship into harbour, anticipating that both will be much greater than any he has endured hitherto, though he trusts in God that this will not make him wish to return to the harbour from which he departed; nor does he think that the letters written by his commission to his agent at Rome demonstrate any such desire.

Those letters were written solely to remind the Pope that, if from

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any cause induced by the present times, Pole should not be considered suited to the persons with whom he has to transact these negotiations, and his Holiness were able to avail himself of some one else who might seem more to the purpose, he should not have the slightest regard for Pole individually, which, by reason of the Pope's gracious nature, might, he knows, easily be the case, as he desires nothing but what is beneficial both to the cause and to his Holiness.

Such was the substance and intent of those letters; and this he announced to the Pope through Ormanetto. If Pole's love for the honour and advantage of those with whom he would have to negotiate could render him a fitting instrument for this purpose, he would not wish for any one else (*io non crederci a niun altro*); and as to knowledge of the state of affairs everywhere, in order to see what is for the honour and profit of all parties, Pole does not believe it to be so hidden as not to be easily visible to any impartial statesman, however slightly acquainted with it. But if Pole's wish to obtain more honourable and advantageous terms makes him appear less adapted to the business, Morone may know for certain that he has never spoken, nor will he ever speak, of honour and profit save in conjunction with the public and individual weal of those with whom he negotiates, which individual advantage, however, he cannot discuss without showing at the same time how it is coupled with the honour of God and the common weal; and in like manner as a physician, wishing to give food to a sick man in pain, seeks to raise him a little from his bed, and although the patient remonstrates and shows himself averse to be moved, yet does the physician do his duty; so would Pole act were he not positively forbidden, knowing the nature of the malady to be such that, unless the sick man be somewhat raised from his bed, it is impossible to give him food such as would benefit him. But Pole would not attempt to do this unless he saw that the pain was somewhat mitigated, as, otherwise, he would show himself an indelicate physician.

Does not doubt that Morone will understand not only what he means by this simile, but his entire sense both about the business he has now in hand and all the other matters which may occur hereafter. And in this Morone will recognize the love Pole bears him, and the trust he places in his friendship, when, in the midst of so many loving offices performed by Morone in his favour, and for which he can never sufficiently thank him, Pole nevertheless takes occasion to complain of him, and all for the sake of giving Morone a more sure pledge of his mind, of which pledge he may avail himself by promising* for him in this case in such quarters as necessary, and to impress better in Morone's heart the sentiments of Pole, which are rooted there with that love which God has given him; and may He, of his mercy, increase it daily more and more in them until they are utterly dead in the flesh, and alive for love eternal in Him.

From Brussels, 28th May 1554.

[*Italian.*]

* Del qual pugno ella potrà servirsi promettendo per me in questo caso dove fusse bisogno.

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May 29 ?*
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

885. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [ROBERTO] DE' NOBILI.

Thanks him for his letter announcing his promotion to the Cardinalate, on which he congratulates him, alluding to his rare endowments, of which Pole had personal knowledge.

From Brussels.

[Italian.]

June 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

886. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke Henry [Erigo?] of Brunswick [Wolfenbüttel], although he had promised to serve the Emperor, prefers harassing the Hanse Towns, from which he exacts considerable sums, and has written to the Emperor that his Majesty has nothing to fear from any power, and that the Marquis Albert [Alcibiades of Brandenburg (Culmbach)] is mad, poor, miserable, and universally detested. A military commander has sent the Emperor a plan of operations for the next campaign against France, and amongst other suggestions recommends him to import as soon as possible 3,000 troops from England, both to reinforce his army and to remove the opportunity for insurrection there; and concerning this plan the Emperor spoke very drily to Don Ferrantè Gonzaga, and gave orders for the two German regiments, which are nearly completed, to be marched towards Liege. It is not credible that his Majesty will undertake any expedition until the arrival of the Prince of Spain in England, and until affairs there are quieted; nor will he choose the Spanish troops which accompany the Prince (in number upwards of 6,000) to be employed for Flanders, but keep them as a guard against such accidents as may occur in England.

His Majesty, having been uneasy because some time had passed without news from Spain, was rejoiced yesterday by hearing, through a courier who left England on the 26th ulto., that on the 12th the Prince had sent his household and the noblemen who are to accompany him to the sea coast of Galicia, and on that same day he was to depart, riding postwise to Tordesillas, a few leagues from Valladolid, to take leave of the Emperor's mother, and would then go to meet his sister the Princess of Portugal, who was already on the borders of Castille, of which kingdom she has been appointed governess; and after the meeting he would proceed to embark at Corunna, where they calculate he arrived two days ago, and with the first fair weather he will cross thence to England, a passage of from four to six days, or more, according to the winds; but he has sent in advance the brother of Don Luis Davila† as ambassador to the Queen of England, to whom he is coming with four ships.

The courier also reported that her Majesty had quitted London and

* No date of time. Roberto de' Nobili was made Cardinal by his uncle Pope Julius III. on the 22nd December 1553, when only 14 years of age. He died at the commencement of 1559, at the age of 18, but such was his piety that Cardinal Borromeo said he should be satisfied with himself could he equal it, and Cardinal Pole pronounced him "the ornament and glory of the Apostolic College;" and Julius III. thus made some amends for the infamous appointment of Innocenzio del Monte at the age of 16. (See Cardella, vol. iv. pp. 332, 335.)

† Don Pedro Davila, Marquis de las Navas. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

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was gone to Windsor, and on hearing of the Prince's approach will go on to Winchester (some seven miles from Hampton, where the Prince will land), and meet him there, though it is true that several changes have been made in this matter, and may be followed by others if deemed necessary for greater safety and quiet, *as both at Brussels and in London they are always apprehensive of those English brains (quelli cervelli Anglesi), so prone to sedition; wherefore, she has left a good garrison of some 4,000 infantry in London, with a governor, her confidant; and has had proclamations issued, inflicting heavy penalties on any Englishman maltreating any Spaniard either by word or deed.*

The Bishop of Cortona has arrived at Brussels from the Duke of Florence on his way to congratulate the King and Queen of England; Don Hernando de Gamboa, from the King of Bohemia; and the Count of Monte Cuculo, from the Duke of Ferrara; as also Don Pedro Lasso, from the King of the Romans, being likewise there on the same errand.*

It is asserted at Brussels that the Lady Elizabeth has been taken under custody to Windsor, whither the Queen was going, and that there is a misunderstanding between the Bishop of Winchester and Puget. Is informed by a person likely to know, that the most Christian King, when speaking with the Cardinal Legate, said he intended that the treaty stipulated by him with the late King Edward should continue in force with the present Queen, as Pole recommended, approving this.† Subsequently, having heard through her spies that King Henry, when talking with some of his courtiers, said he had no treaty whatever with her, Queen Mary spoke about this to the French ambassador resident with her, who said it was true that some months ago, in his King's name, he asked the Queen to form a new and closer understanding (intelligentia) with him, as the treaty made with King Edward became void on his death. Thereupon the Queen desired her ambassadors in France to tell the King what Noailles had said, and to learn the will of his Majesty, who replied that his ambassador knew not what he was talking about, and that he (the King) would maintain his friendship with the Queen inviolably, as also his treaty with King Edward, nor would he indeed make peace with the Emperor more easily by any other means than those of her Majesty, who sent all this intelligence to Brussels, and Damula would not wish it to be known that he transmits it to Venice.

Some eight or ten ships have been armed in England, to keep the sea clear and guard it against the French vessels, which very frequently attacked ships on the voyage to these parts; so it is thought that those seas will now be safe, which work has been effected by the Alcalde at the Court of Brussels, who narrowly escaped being captured by the said corsairs.

Brussels, 1st June 1554.

P.S. (evening).

The ambassadors from the Kings of the Romans and of Bohemia,

* These embassies are also recorded in Foreign Calendar, date 4th June 1554, p. 90.

† Il ch  fu a sua Maest  consigliato et laudato dal Cardinal predetto.

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and many other personages, have asked me about your Serenity's ambassador to the Prince of Spain. I reply that your ambassador arrived in England on the 22nd ult., as has been written to me thence. I do not know whether what I say is in accordance with your will.

The syndics [at Milan] have been authorized to arrest Franzino, Don Ferrante's commissioner and general agent, and also a Spanish captain. It is believed that important discoveries will be made and great things justified; so Don Ferrante is very dispirited, and told the Emperor that his ministers act with passion against him, and commenced declaring them suspected; but his Majesty interrupted him, saying that in many matters which he is unable to transact in person, he must avail himself of his ministers, who would certainly not swerve from their duty; and that he was to be of good cheer, and have no farther suspicion, but he will go to England to kiss the Prince's hand, and afterwards they will discuss his affairs. Since the news of his Highness's departure from Valladolid, perceives the verification of his prognostic, that the Prince's coming regulates all the Emperor's proceedings, as yesterday and to-day he has given audience to many persons, consulting with his ministers about what is required for England, and the expedition to be made in Flanders against France.

Brussels, 1st June 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini, Applicato di I^{ma}. Classe del R. Archivio Generale di Venezia.]

June 2.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta)
v. lxix. p. 84.

887. The DOGE and SENATE to the BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By advices from the Imperial and French Courts, understand that their Majesties are increasing their cavalry and infantry forces, and that the most Christian King is also levying Switzers and Grisons for employment in his army, some of these last being sent by him towards Sienna for the defence of that city, and the Signory conceded them passage through the Republic's territory. No further confirmation has been received of the report that Marquis Albert of Brandenburg had agreed to serve the most Christian King.

They have heard from England that the Captain Wyatt, head of the rebels who was captured some time ago, had been executed in public, and that by a decree of the English Parliament the Prince of Spain, the Emperor's son, had been proclaimed King of England, as he is the consort of Queen Mary.

Ayes, 188. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[Italian.]

June 3.

Original
despatch.
Venetian
Archives.

888. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Pole having sent to the Queen of England to know whether she approved of his sending one of his attendants in honour of the wedding, her reply was that he might send, but not a Churchman; and he had previously written to her, that if she wished to rule in peace it was above all desirable for her to make an adjust-

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ment between the Emperor and the King of France, as she being the consort of the Prince of Spain, and he being the enemy of the French, it would be difficult for her to remain at peace with them; and that war at this commencement of her reign, together with the change of religion, and the introduction of a foreign King, could not but endanger the affairs of England, and encourage the malcontents who are in arms to bestir themselves daily; and should she now demand money for the purpose of waging war, it would perhaps not be granted her, and might cause rebellion; so she should do her utmost to effect peace between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty. The Queen replied that she was aware of this, and would do her utmost accordingly. And Pole sent back to say, he is of opinion that peace will never be made unless a conference is held between the ministers of the two powers for the discussion of the difficulties and terms to be proposed reciprocally; and that her Majesty should prevail on them to send commissioners to meet and negotiate, etc.

Brussels, 3rd June 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini].

June 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

889. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It having been told me in secret that these Lords (questi Signori) were discussing a truce, at La Fère, where there was to be an envoy from Queen Maria, the Emperor's sister, she having interposed to negotiate it, I, wishing to hear something farther on the subject, left Compiègne, and came to this place two leagues from Coucy (Cusij), where the most Christian King arrived yesterday. I heard that in that place (in detto loco) [La Fère?], they held constant consultations; and lately the wife of the Duke de Bouillon, who is now a prisoner of the Imperialists, said to a certain gentleman, her friend, that in that place of La Fère these Lords discussed this negotiation for a truce, and that they agreed about everything, except its duration. The Emperor proposed to make it for less time than his most Christian Majesty would wish, which some persons find it very difficult to believe, it not seeming reasonable to them for the Emperor to break off the negotiation, which was being treated more to his repute by the Cardinal Legate Pole, for the sake of having it subsequently renewed by other similar means (per farla poi negoziare per un altro tal mezzo). They moreover say that it also seems to them unreasonable for the most Christian King to give ear to this scheme (maneggio), his Majesty having made such preparation for an attack on the Emperor in this quarter (dal canto di quà), chiefly with a view to keeping him so impeded as to prevent his giving any assistance (alcun favore) to the Queen of England, some hope being still entertained here of fresh insurrections in that kingdom on the arrival of the Prince of Spain, and most especially should they see the Emperor so harassed as to render it impossible for him to afford her Majesty any military succour. Although these things were said to me by

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way of conversation, I would nevertheless not abstain from writing them, that your Serenity may know in detail all that is heard here.

Premontre, 5th June 1554.

[Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

890. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has desired the Duke of Brunswick to suspend the march of his troops (che intertenga le sue gente), and immediately on receiving notice to bring them hitherwards; so perceiving all these preparations and the delay in undertaking any expedition, it may be inferred that his Majesty awaits the arrival of his son in England before taking the field. Very considerable provision is being made, destined apparently for Flanders, but it proceeds slowly, nor has anything more been heard from Spain since his last.

Brussels, 7th June 1554.

[Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

891. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Pole communicated the reply received from the Emperor about the peace to the Nuncio in France, from whom, on the day before yesterday, Damula heard the rejoinder of his most Christian Majesty, thus, that as the Emperor will not have peace, preparation must be made for war; the Nuncio adding that great preparation is in fact being made, both for Italy and Flanders. The Queen of England desired her ambassador at Brussels to notify the answer given by King Henry to the English ambassador at his Court, and to learn the Emperor's will respecting the last words, purporting that his most Christian Majesty would make the peace more willingly through the mediation of the Queen. Masone spoke to the Bishop of Arras, enquiring how the Queen was to regulate herself, and whether she was to treat peace with the King. The Bishop said it was impossible to make peace with the French, as they never keep their promises; and when Masone asked whether the Emperor had any wish to make peace, Arras said, "Yes, provided it be a good one." The ambassador enquired, "How can a peace be made if not treated; and how can it be treated, unless consent be given and arrangements made?" Arras rejoined that first some knowledge must be obtained of the will of the French; whereupon Masone continued that the knowledge was very evident from the words about the peace, uttered of his own accord by the King to Dr. Wotton, and that he Masone considered the peace desirable, both for the Emperor and for England; adding, "The Prince is a new plant, planted in the realm of England by his father, who, if he wishes it to bear fruit, must let the soil rest quiet a while, as otherwise, if harassed at this commencement, it is doubtful whether the fruit will benefit him." The Bishop rejoined, that the greater the demonstration of the French in favour of peace, the less do they wish

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for it; and that they themselves must propose the terms, as also the restitution of many things. Masone repeated that these terms might be treated at a conference between commissioners from the parties, and should no agreement ensue, nothing but words would be lost, whilst the Emperor would have shown that he was not averse to peace. The Bishop then said, "Well, we are determined, and will no longer believe the French, who have themselves been the authors of the war whilst we were at peace;" and when Masone insisted that Arras should speak about this to the Emperor, he said he would, and that possibly when these two sovereigns are with their armies in the field, they may then more to their honour talk of peace, propose terms, and perhaps conclude them, as has been the case heretofore.

In the meanwhile, the Queen of England, although she wishes for the peace, will not say a word about it to the most Christian King until receipt of the order hence, though immediately on the arrival of her consort she will discuss the matter with him, in virtue of an article of the marriage contract whereby the Prince promises that the kingdom of England will neither directly nor indirectly take part in the war against the most Christian King, but endeavour strictly to observe the peace now existing between France and England, as also the conventions stipulated heretofore between the two countries, and never to give cause for infringing or altering them.

Brussels, 7th June 1554. Evening.

[Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

892. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News came of the arrival of four ships from Spain, with the Ambassador from the Prince to the Queen of England; but it has been ascertained that they were two Spanish caravels, which from foul weather had been well nigh two months on the voyage, so that nothing more is known about the Prince's coming than was written in Damula's last, save that bets are laid that he will be in England on the 20th or 25th instant; and they talk about the winds and changes of weather with very anxious hope.

The Emperor is well, and on the 7th instant was occupied in making his will, or, to speak more correctly, in revising it; for he has made it several times.

Brussels, 10th June 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 10.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

893. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

By Morone's letter of the 20th ult. has understood what he tells him concerning the brief which the Pope was about to send him, and how Ormanetto would return to Brussels, by which opportunity Pole would also wish the Pope to send some determination respecting the Church property, about which the Queen has asked the agent every time she spoke to him since his last return to England.

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By Pole's last letter of the 13th* Morone will have heard that the Queen, not thinking it desirable for him to send the Bishop of Worcester nor any other churchman with his congratulations to the King, he had not yet determined what person to appoint for the performance of this office. He subsequently made choice of their Messer Michiel (*de Messer Michiel nostro*),† who is in England, most especially as this resolve has been approved by the English ambassador at Brussels [Sir John Masone], and by a messenger express Pole will send the congratulatory letters for the King and Queen to Michiel, together with the instructions for his verbal announcement, and this he will do immediately on hearing of the King's arrival in England. Morone will also have heard that on the 28th May the Queen quitted London and went to Richmond‡, which is on the way to Winchester, where the marriage is to be celebrated. By the last letters from London, dated the 5th, nothing further was heard about the coming of the King, but a Count had arrived at the Court sent by him from Spain with a present for the Queen, who had despatched the Bishop of Lincoln (*il Vescovo Lenconiense*) and another nobleman to meet him, and the Imperial ambassadors were already on their way to Southampton.

By the enclosed extract,* Morone will see what Pole's agent wrote in his last letter; and a few days ago, when the English Ambassador came to dine with him, he told Pole that the day before, the Bishop of Arras had informed him that the Queen, having been moved by certain threatening words uttered to her by the French Ambassador, sent immediately to desire her ambassador in France [Dr. Wotton] to acquaint the King with this, in order to know his will towards her. The King replied that his will was the same it always had been, not only to maintain, but even to augment his friendship with her, adding that should peace have to be negotiated between the Emperor and him, her Majesty would be a good mediatrix. This having come to the knowledge of Masone, he mentioned it to Pole, because it was in accordance with what they had said together on the subject, which conversation Masone wrote to the Queen,§ and with this opportunity communicated it to the Bishop of Arras, who said in short that the Imperialists would never be the first to make a proposal of peace, without entering into further details. He did not, however, evince aversion to the discourse, neither did he a few days ago, when discussing the same topic with Pole's Abbot [of S. Saluto], as Morone will have heard by the Abbot's letters, addressed to Messer Gian Francesco. But from what is heard and seen on both sides, the projects and preparations in course, show that they are thinking more of war than of peace, which, however, in reason, must have some limit. Nor will Pole fail to avail himself of every opportunity that may offer, should he have to remain at

* Not found.

† The Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michiel had arrived in England in April or May 1554.

‡ At the beginning of June, the Queen fled from London to Westminster. (See Froude, vol. vi. p. 228.) In the Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, p. 87, it appears that the Queen went to Richmond on the 30th May.

§ See also Foreign Calendar, 1554, June 11, Brussels, p. 94.

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Brussels, in which case he would deem it advisable for his Holiness to give him some especial commission whereby to open the way for writing or sending to France. Pole had heard nothing previously about the request for Legates made by the Emperor and the King of the Romans, nor could Morone have done better than to await the Pope's decision. Much is said at Brussels about this Diet, and that the Emperor purposes attending it, which is not credited, as some months may elapse before these other negotiations are arranged. The letter from Germany has convinced Pole of the favour vouchsafed him by God, who allows him to be slandered in every quarter, continuing to him, however, of his goodness, that disposition (*animo*) always to desire and seek whatever may be for the common weal.

From Brussels, 10th June 1554.

[*Italian.*]

June 11.
Despatches from
England.
File 1.
Venetian
Archives.

894. NARRATIVE forwarded by GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Bortholo de Riedes, writer (*scrivano*) of the ship "Bemba," Manoli de Paris, master, arrived in London yesterday evening. Reports that on the 2nd instant, he, with the ship, set sail from port Benedetto in Brittany, and steering towards England, they, on the 6th, between Cape Lizard (*Capo Laserti*) and Brest, when in mid-channel, fell in with 320 French vessels, as counted by him and the ship's company. This fleet was tacking in the channel, and the "Bemba," being alone, lowered all her sails, and after an hour the flagship fired a salute of one gun, which the "Bemba" returned, and then four of the principal ships set sail, making towards them, the whole fleet following. At an hour before sunset, the flagship, commanded by Viscount di Albanova [?], came under the "Bemba's" bow, demanding the launch (*la barca*) and the clerk (*il scrivano*), who immediately went on board, together with the noble Messer Daniel Contarini,* and having exhibited the letters patent from the most Christian King, they requested to be allowed to continue their voyage; whereupon, the commander-in-chief, after speaking to another captain of the largest ship (whom the clerk subsequently understood to be a Scot), asked him whether he had any news of the Spanish fleet. The clerk answered that he knew nothing at all, having been four months absent from Spain. He then required them to give him five butts of wine, which were not given spontaneously, but he sent his men to take them, and not only did

* In the preface to vol. i. Venetian Calendar, p. lxiii., I mentioned a decree, issued by the Republic in the 14th century for the appointment of four young patricians, to serve on board the Flanders galley, that they might "see the world, be inured betimes to toil, and learn to expose their lives for their native land." In the commission given to Andrea Priuli, captain of the Flanders galleys in February 1517 (Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. p. 349), allusion is again made to these young noble sailors; and it is now seen that they continued in the merchant service, after the Republic had ceased to send the Flanders galleys to England. Subsequent documents prove that in December 1569, when the French pirate "Sore" seized two Venetian merchantmen off the Isle of Wight, the magnificos Andrea Dandolo, and Marc' Antonio and Paulo Venier were serving on board of them, and were, I believe, the last of the patrician arbalast-men in the Venetian merchant-service.

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they take the wines, but also a silver-mounted knife belonging to the master, and some of his sailing-compasses; and they allowed the ship to go on its voyage.

Being asked about the quality of the French ships, he said the captain told him that eighty of them were armed, and that part were with him the commander-in-chief, and part off "the Land's End" (*sopra il Capo dell' Isola*); but so far as the clerk could judge, all the vessels, one after the other, having passed astern of his ship, he does not think that more than ten or twelve of them were armed, each being of about 600 Venetian butts burden, but the flagship, which sailed admirably (*qual era bonissima di velle*), was not thought to be of more than 400 butts. The rest were small vessels, like Venetian marcellians, with very few men on board, without artillery; and all these vessels on leaving the "Bemba," made towards France.

Being asked whether, so far as he had heard, there was any Englishman on board the fleet, he said he had heard nothing at all, save that the commander-in-chief gave him an Englishman to take to England, dressed in the garb of a courier, but with the air of a gentleman, recommending him very earnestly. When the ship arrived at Dover, four of the Queen's galleons were there; and the Englishman, seeing that the gondola was going ashore, asked to be landed with the rest, as was courteously conceded to him, so the gondola on its way having neared the galleons, their commander chose to examine each of the persons on board the gondola, and recognizing the Englishman by his pronunciation, after asking him several things, ordered his arrest, and had him taken on board his galleon, the gondola being allowed to depart. The clerk added, that from the Englishman's conversation on board the ship, he thinks him a French spy. The captain of the galleons showed nothing but the usual marks of friendship and courtesy towards the "Bemba."

London, 11th June 1554.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.

Despatches from
England.
File 1.
Venetian
Archives.

895. NARRATIVE forwarded by GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Is sending by way of Antwerp, duplicates of his letters of the 9th, and adds a report made by the writer of the ship belonging to the magnifico Messer Lorenzo Bembo and Co., who arrived in London yesterday, having left the vessel at Margate. The Signory will perceive that he gives an account of the French fleet which was off the coast of England, and of its amount and quality; but with regard to so extraordinary a number as 320 sail, which he says he counted, intelligent Londoners believe them to be fishing boats, which at this season unite and put to sea for the herring fishery, and that their junction with the few French men-of-war was accidental rather than from their being of any use for hostilities, as none of them carry arms, and scarcely sufficient men to direct the boats and carry on the fishery.

The Right Reverend Chancellor confirmed this to Michiel's secretary, seeming to hold the matter in little or no account; nor

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had he the slightest apprehension that these vessels could cope with the Spanish fleet were they to fall in with it; of which he is yet more convinced by the news at length received by him last evening of the landing at Plymouth of the Marquis de las Naves,* who made the voyage [from Laredo] without any danger. The Chancellor merely knew that he had arrived at Plymouth on Saturday the 9th, but told the Secretary (Michiel does not know whether on the authority of the Marquis, or according to the opinion of others) that the Prince will be in England in a fortnight, though, as the Marquis will soon be at the Court, his landing-place being only 100 miles off, the particulars of this, and of all his other news, will soon be known, and if imparted to Michiel, he will forthwith transmit them to the Signory.

Two days ago, there also made his appearance Count Camillo da Montecucolo, sent by the Duke of Ferrara, to congratulate the Prince and the Queen in his Excellency's name.† Yesterday he went to the Court, and her Majesty received him graciously. When visiting Michiel, he told him he should await the Prince's arrival, and then return to Italy, postwise, as he came.

The Queen is still at Richmond, on the eve of departure (it is said) for Oatlands, seven miles in advance [towards Southampton?] but her movements will be delayed until she receives sure news of the Prince's arrival.

Has received the Signory's letters of the 22nd ultimo, with the summaries from Constantinople down to the 22nd April, which he will communicate to the Chancellor as usual, her Majesty not being in London.

London, 12th June 1554.

[Italian.]

June 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

896. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When speaking to the Bishop of Arras about the affair of the Magnifico Spatafora, said that he had been absolved by the Cardinals, and that his lordship could speak about it to the Cardinal Legate, Pole, who would acquaint him with the life and manners of Messer Bortolomeo [Spatafora?], and requested him to take his character from such a man, *to which the Bishop did not answer one word; nor since the Cardinal's return from France has he ever been to visit him.*

News came of the arrival in England of the Marquis de las Navas, but it was untrue; nor has any farther sure intelligence been received from Spain.

Is informed that off the headland of England there are many French men-of-war, but very small ones, and that they are stationed there to intercept the ships from Spain.

Being unable to go in person by reason of a violent cold, sent to thank the English Ambassador for the favour which the Queen con-

* Don Pedro Davila, Marquis de la Navas. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

† In the Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, p. 89, and Index, this Ferrarese ambassador is styled "Count Rodrigo de Monte Cuculo."

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ferred spontaneously by desiring that, for his safety, the Ambassador Soranzo should embark on board her armed ships, which is considered a great favour, in addition to the others received by him on this his departure, as announced to Damula by private letters from London.

With this, sends the packet from England.

Brussels, 15th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

897. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The mustering of the army (la massa dell' essercito) seems to be delayed longer than was expected, the Constable not having yet left the court, as he has been somewhat indisposed. Some persons are of opinion that they will put off making this muster (massa) until they hear of the arrival of the Prince of Spain in England, to see what his fleet and the troops he brings with him may do. In consequence of his passage they have raised a certain amount of troops in Normandy and Britanny to guard those coasts; 300 men-at-arms are quartered in those parts until the fleet has passed. Within the last few days the French Government (questi) has entertained a suspicion that on the arrival of the Prince in England that kingdom must (si debbi) declare itself the enemy of this one (di questo), because should the army of the most Christian King attack these provinces of the Emperor which have been promised as dower-security? (contradote) to the Queen of England, it is apprehended that, besides the other reasons whereby the Prince her husband may persuade her to make war, this of defending her own (di difendere il suo) will have great weight (serà di molta importantia); so the Constable sent lately for the English Ambassador [Dr. Wotton] and spoke to him at great length about this suspicion of his most Serene Queen, as told me by the Ambassador himself, and he answered that said Queen is well disposed to maintain (osservare) the peace and friendship she has with his most Christian Majesty, and that she has shown such constancy in her actions as to warrant no suspicion of her allowing herself to be persuaded by her husband to do anything at variance with her intention and her promise.

News have been received from England that they were expecting the Prince of Spain there very soon. He was to embark on the 31st ulto.; so the Queen had left London, and was going to Winchester to meet the Prince.

Premontre, 16th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

898. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Spanish gentleman arrived at Brussels this morning, having landed at Southampton on the 15th, with the Marquis de las Navas,

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who was sent by the Prince of Spain to the Queen of England. The Prince might be on the coast of Galicia to embark there by the 10th, and his arrival may be hoped for hourly. *The Duke of Savoy has received a gratuity of 15,000 crowns; has paid all his household, and given orders for everybody to be in readiness to go out in the course of this week; and the troops still continue marching, but are not expected to take the field until the Prince arrives in England; and the French are raising forces in great number.*

The Emperor is sending those most beautiful tapestries representing the Tunis expedition, and a quantity of jewels, as a present to the Queen of England.

With regard to the Emperor's request to the Pope to send legates to the Diet of Augsburg, nothing was said either to Cardinal Pole or to the Nuncio, nor did they know anything about it, save by letters from Rome; and his Holiness sent Pole a copy of the Emperor's letter written to him on this subject, that he might be acquainted with it, and give his opinion about the Diet; Damula's being that by this demand for legates, the Emperor wished to cajole (dar pasto) his Holiness, as for the present they will neither hold the Diet, nor talk of religion.

Brussels, 17th June 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 18.
Parti Secrete,
Consiglio X.,
File no. 8.

899. ENGLISH AMBASSADOR IN VENICE.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta by the Chiefs of the Ten.

That the Ambassador for England be answered in such gracious form of speech as shall seem fit to the Doge, that they are content to have his servant arrested, as he requested them to do.

And be it carried that the servant aforesaid be arrested by order of the Chiefs of this Council, and kept in custody in a secret place in such a mode as shall seem fit to them, so that he may not be able to speak with any one.

Ayes, 6. Noes, 17. Neutrals, 5.

Ser Francesco Minio,
Ser Alvise Foscari,
Ser Ermolao Barbaro,
Chiefs.

[Italian.]

June 20.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

900. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is heard from Brittany and Normandy that in those seas the French Government (*questi*) assembled lately a large quantity of ships, to cause suspicion to the Prince of Spain on this his passage to England, but I understand that of the said ships there were only about eighteen armed, the rest belonging to private individuals.

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it having been chosen to make use of them for the purpose of making a great show.

Premontre, 20th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in Italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 20.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time.
Printed in v. iv.
pp. 153 158.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,"
with the date as
above.

901. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of AUGSBURG (*Cardinale Augustano*) [Otho Truchses].

No one could induce Pole to publish the books addressed by him heretofore to the King of England, for his own perusal exclusively (*ut ab uno illo legerentur*). Is now afraid that the publication will be extorted from him by a stranger, whose effigy and name are alike unknown to him, and who openly declares himself Pole's enemy. This person resents the arguments of the books, as inferred by that part of his letter addressed to Pole at Rome (and which Pole now sends to the Cardinal of Augsburg) threatening speedily to publish something against them. The writer seems to be a German; he declares Pole's assertions to be false, and accuses him of printing the books in such a manner as to prevent their falling into the hands of persons capable of confuting them.* The intention of Pole is manifest through his intended preface to the whole work, at the time when counselled and well nigh compelled to publish it. Such apparently, is the will of God, and he therefore sends everything to the Cardinal of Augsburg. In the meanwhile, touching the censor's accusations, Pole is charged with acknowledging the true doctrine of justification, and endeavouring to prevent its being divulged amongst the Italians. This he confutes by asserting that according to the apostolic doctrines and the authority of the Church, he believes justification to proceed from faith accompanied by works, as learned by him, not from the interpreters and masters who arrogate to themselves the true meaning of those words, but from the Apostles Paul and James.

With regard to the diffusion of this doctrine in Italy, he merely counselled certain persons, who chose to preach, to abstain from that gift of gospelling,† to which no one had called them. Christ being essentially truth and justice, no one possesses him who swerves from justice and truth, as this writer does when he says that Pole

* "Tum in eo me graviter accusat, quod libros eos ita curaverim imprimendos, ut caverim ne in eorum manus pervenirent, qui ea quæ a me scribantur, callideque (ut ait ipse) legentium animis instillantur, et possent, et parati essent refellere." It is not easy to comprehend how the printing of a work, even for mere private circulation, could diminish the chance of its being confuted by hostile critics.

† "Et monuerim, ut ab eo evangelizandi munere, ad quod nemo eos vocasset, abstererent." Dr. Johnson writes that the word "*to gospel*" in Shakspeare, in whom alone he found it, "is used, though so venerable in itself, with some degree of irony; I suppose from the gossellers, who had long been held in contempt." Macbeth addressed the murderers of Banquo thus—

"Are you so gospell'd

To pray for this good man, and for his issue,
Whose heavy hand hath bow'd you to the grave,
And beggar'd your's for ever?"

Macbeth was first performed in 1606. Cardinal Pole used the word "*evangelizandi*" ironically in 1554, so it must have been Anglicised shortly afterwards, but I know not exactly when.

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went to a certain gospeller at Augsburg (such being the title conferred by them on their doctors), promising him to espouse their cause,* whereas Pole never was at Augsburg. The Cardinal of Augsburg knows well that lately when again passing through Germany, he did not go there; and of his very great kindness, the Cardinal, hearing that he was distant two days journey from the city, sent his attendants to him to conduct him to Dillingen, where having been the Cardinal's guest during some days, or rather months, no doctor of the sect ever spoke to him, not that he was averse to a conference, but that none of the gospellers asked it.

As to the abuse lavished on him by this libeller, would not heed it, were he at present in the position of a mere private individual, it having always been his custom under similar circumstances to remain silent, but as he now holds a public office he is compelled to reply. Being accused therefore of canvassing the popedom, he confutes the charge in detail, alleging his aversion to all honours (especially to that which is supreme), and the testimony of his friends, as also his own demeanour, and the book written by him on that occasion, and of which he sends the Cardinal of Augsburg a manuscript copy (having hitherto communicated it but to a very few persons), that, should he think fit, he may print it. Pole himself is of opinion that it will easily acquit him before all candid judges of the suspicion of having earnestly sought this supreme dignity, and refers himself to what he wrote after the conclave to the Bishop of Badajos.

Pole also finds himself accused of cruelty, and of wishing to re-establish the peace between England and France, for the purpose of a combined attack on Germany. With regard to cruelty, Pole may possibly have said that a putrid member should be severed from the body, but at any rate he never said that recourse should not be had in the first place to lenitives, on which account he was reproached by some for being too merciful. At the Council of Trent he always supported the mildest measures, considering that the prelates assembled there, being entitled "fathers," should comport themselves as parents, and that the heretics, although rebels, were their sons.

Touching the Germans, the Cardinal of Augsburg's countrymen, not only Pole, but the entire English nation, are bound to them by yet closer ties of friendship, both one and the other being of Saxon origin; and as the Germans are linked with the English by the bond of human friendship, so are they also joined to them by the strongest of any, which is divine love, because England conferred on her German kinsfolk this boon, that they received the faith and religion of Christ through the English Saint Boniface, which ought to be an eternal pledge between the two nations. On this account Pole the more laments that the Saxons should have raised the standard of rebellion against the Roman Church, their example being followed by England, and that not content with their own

* Cum dicit, Augustinus me ad quendam Evangelicum (sic enim doctores suos appellant) divertisse, et apud eum prae me talisse, me causae illorum favere."

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apostasy they should endeavour openly to pervert the whole of Germany and all other Christian nations.

Brussels, 20th June 1554.

[*Latin.* 240 lines.]

June 21.

Senato Mar.
v. xxxii. p. 150,
tergo.

902. CLAIMS ON ENGLAND of the VENETIAN NOBLEMAN SIR FRANCIS BERNARD.*

The nobleman Francesco Bernardo, knight, having been unable as yet to negotiate anything with the Queen of England about the credits claimed by him from that crown (on account of damages sustained in divers manners for the service and advantage of his late Majesty), by reason of the disturbances after the death of King Edward, petitions the Signory to prolong therefore for one year, the license to go to England conceded on the 27th of March 1553; Put to the ballot, that the above-mentioned license be prolonged for another year.

Ayes, 172. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

June 22.

Lettere Secrete,
Capi ConsiglioX.,
File no. 5.

903. The CHIEFS of the TEN to GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.†

A few days ago the reverend ambassador of the most Serene Queen Mary came to them saying that he wished they would order the arrest of one of his servants‡ for certain important things, which he would specify after it had been made. The Chiefs answered him that this matter of arrest is of great moment, and by the Republic's laws and ordinances entails difficulties, as sundry and important considerations must be had. Subsequently the ambassador entered the College, where the Chiefs were present, saying he had been told that his said servant had uttered certain words to the disparagement of the most Serene Queen, demonstrating ill-will towards her; and he repeated the same demand for the arrest, in order (as he said) to examine him thoroughly, with the assistance of a secretary on behalf of the Signory. Although anxious to do what is agreeable to the Queen, nevertheless as such proceedings are unusual, and might create great confusion, they were unable to satisfy the ambassador in this matter, having frequently denied similar requests to many Princes, ambassadors, and other personages, because an infinite number of persons of all nations proceed freely to Venice and her territory, where everybody discourses, even of Princes, according to their opinions, and it is not customary to take heed of their words, the like system being observed at other courts; and had the Signory proceeded to this arrest, the example would have subjected them to so many similar requests from ambassadors and other personages that discussions of the sort would have arisen daily, to the confusion of the Republic's laws and regulations,

* The name and title of Francesco Bernardo is given as above in the index of Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1547-1553, p. 362.

† The name of this servant and his misdemeanours are recorded in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date June 16, 1554, p. 97.

‡ Transcribed in cipher.

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and causing not a little disturbance to the Signory. Have given him detailed account of these things for his own information, and in order that if spoken to about them further by the Queen, or by any of the Lords of the Council, he may be able to reply according to this letter in such form as of his prudence he shall deem fitting, giving the Chiefs notice of the result.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

In Coll^o. intervenientibus Cap. Ill^{mi}. Consilij X.

[*Italian.*]

June 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

904. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Valladolid of the 24th ulto. say that the Prince of Spain had already seen his sister, and was expected to embark in the middle of this month at the latest. Hitherto the weather has been fair, but it is now cold, and the northerly winds are against this voyage. The Marquis de las Navas has brought the Queen a beautiful large diamond as a present from her Consort, and unless some new resolve be formed, it seems that the marriage will be celebrated at Winchester.

Sir Philip Hoby, late English Ambassador at the Imperial Court, has arrived at Brussels. Damula believes he is on his way to the baths of Abano, but in a future despatch will say for certain whether such is the case.

Brussels, 23rd June 1554.

[*Italian.*]

June 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

905. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor's delay in mustering his forces is now causing him great trouble and detriment. During the whole of this year he determined to await the arrival of his son in England, in order to avail himself of the money and troops which accompany the Prince, and therefore procrastinated, disbursing but little pay, and detaining much cavalry and infantry in Germany; nor can they be got together speedily, as the journey thence to Flanders is very long, nor is the money sent thither sufficient to make them march.

Brussels, 29th June 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

906. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It may be hoped that in a fortnight from 16 to 20,000 foot will be mustered, and the Emperor will regulate himself according to the proceedings of the enemy, who, yesterday and today, besides plundering everything in the neighbourhood of Brussels, also burned many villages, capturing such men of wealth as they found abroad, great numbers of the peasantry being destitute, and making their escape into Brussels; those who can save their apparel, bringing it into the town, where in a few days they must be furnished, as the

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harvest cannot be got in for a month, and the French are destroying it, victuals being brought from day to day for the momentary supply; but the enemy lost a great opportunity by not entering Brussels immediately and making them all decamp in double quick time. Nothing is said about the Emperor's departure, nor is it expected to take place until he has an army in the field, when Damula will follow him wherever he goes, unless he forbids him. Yesterday his Majesty tried on his armour and found that the corslet and a jerkin of buckskin (*di coro [cuojo] di cervo*) which he wears under it were tighter for him than usual, by three fingers breadth, so he is stouter than he was, and, from what his attendants say, is better than he has been for some years.

Cardinal Pole, who had been residing at an abbey, as Damula wrote,* on hearing that his Majesty intended to depart, came into Brussels and informed the Bishop of Arras, through the Nuncio [Muzzarelli], that he should remain there until he received farther orders from Rome, and wished to know whether the Emperor had any other commands to give. Arras said he would inform his Majesty, who would not depart for the present, and that within a month at the latest he will have such an army that it will make the French scamper home if they can get there. But in a few days Pole purposes making another attempt, by speaking about the peace or causing it to be spoken about, provided the Emperor will give him audience; nor did the Bishop of Arras take it amiss that Pole should remain at Brussels, of which he had some doubt, remembering what Arras said to him [last May] when he returned from France, as written by Damula.

It was reported today that the Prince of Spain had arrived in England on the 28th, but Damula finds that a Spanish ship has arrived at Antwerp, having sailed from Coruña on the 18th, bringing word that the Prince was to embark on that day, and they hope soon to have news of his arrival in England.

Brussels, 30th June 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

907. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador is going to Rheims, as I also shall do immediately on the Queen's departure thither, she having remained where she now is on account of a slight indisposition which suddenly seized her eldest daughter, Madame Isabel; but on that same day they sent off the Dauphin with the most Serene Queen of Scotland and her Majesty's other daughter to Rheims, and the Queen herself will soon depart, that castle (*quel castello*) [of Coucy?] not being considered very safe on account of its vicinity to the enemy's fortresses.

I have heard on good authority, that as soon as the army is united his Majesty will push on with it (si spingerà con quello) towards Brussels, in order if possible to dislodge the Emperor, and

* The earliest of Damula's letters which has been preserved is dated 1st June 1554, and Pole was already at the abbey of Dillingau in May, as seen by his correspondence.

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if able, they would even enter the city and have it sacked, which will remain to be seen; and of what may take place I shall give your Serenity notice from time to time.

Dr. Wotton tells me that according to his last advices from London, the Prince of Spain has not yet appeared in that kingdom, and this he attributed to contrary weather; nor by this present letter have I anything more to tell your Serenity.

Laon (*Lan*), 30th June 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics-deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

908. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to DOGE FRANCESCO VENIER.*

Congratulates himself and the whole Republic, as do Cardinal Pole, the Cardinal of Burgos, all the Italian ambassadors, and very many others, on his election.

Brussels, 1st July 1554.

[Italian.]

July 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

909. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Arras informed the Nuncio [Muzzarelli] in reply to the demand mentioned in his (Damula's) last, that the Emperor was content with whatever pleased the Pope; that the Legate Pole might remain here at his option; and that before the Emperor's departure, the Bishop would go to visit him, which he had not chosen to do hitherto, because regard should be had, on account of the French. (perchè si die haver rispetto per causa de' Francesi).

Brussels, 4th July 1554.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

910. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By merchants from Spain, who have come from Spain on board a ship which has arrived at Antwerp, it is heard that they saw the Prince's fleet sailing from Spain hitherwards, so that by this time he may be in England; and that he is bringing upwards of seven thousand infantry, and money to an enormous amount (*et danari assai assai*); both of which will arrive very opportunely.

Brussels, 5th July 1554.

[Italian.]

July 5.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 20.

911. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Send him their letter of credence to the most Serene King [Philip] of England; on his Majesty's arrival there to present it, addressing him in their name, according to the terms of his commission, and should his Highness have already arrived, he is again to perform this office.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian.]

* Francesco Venier, elected Doge 11th June 1554.

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July 5.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 20.

**912. DOGE FRANCESCO VENIER to the most SERENE [PHILIP]
KING OF ENGLAND.**

Sent lately to the Queen of England his noble Zuan Michiel to congratulate her on her marriage to his Majesty, and to reside as the Doge's ambassador in that kingdom, charging him on the King's arrival there to perform the like office of congratulation on this marriage and on his accession to the English crown.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 5.
Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File no. 20.

**913. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian
Ambassador in England.**

Send him a letter of credence to the King [Philip] of England ; to present it on his Majesty's arrival.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

**914. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the
Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

From what has been heard, the French make no progress, but had a design on Namur. Some say they did not enter either Flanders or Brabant from fear of getting themselves into a war with England, as by the last convention made in 1542 the English are bound to assist the Emperor should those provinces be invaded; nor is Marienburg included, as being in the province of Lidge; so the English ambassador resident at Brussels, who would fain save his country from war, has written to his Queen that Marienburg is not amongst the places which the English Crown is bound to defend, but should the Emperor's son become King of England, and be able to make war, it would be easy to find a pretext for waging it. The Bishop of Arras told Cardinal Pole that the Emperor would willingly have been accompanied by him, but that the urgent need compelled his Majesty to depart on the sudden. When Pole observed that having been unable to effect the peace he could only say that should a spirit come for that purpose, he would try to prevent them from letting it depart, the Bishop replied that a good peace could only be made by a good war; and when the Cardinal rejoined that war was never good, Granvelle continued, that although it was commenced by the French, they will not finish it, either at such time or in such fashion as they shall wish. He then commenced magnifying the Imperial forces and disparaging those of France, saying that the Emperor with so many realms, including Peru, being occasionally pinched for money, he would fain know what to think of the [French] King, who has but one kingdom, and that having already sold the church chalices, he is no longer able to do deeds; whereupon the Cardinal prayed God that no occasion might arise for their marshalling all their forces one against the other.

Brussels, 8th July 1554.

[*Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1554.

July 9.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxix. p. 33.

915. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILIFFS (BAYLIS) at Constantinople.

Informed them by their last letters that the Grisons sent by the most Christian King to succour Sienna were on their march to that city. They subsequently joined the French troops raised at Parma and La Mirandola, and with horse and foot marched out of Sienna, under the command of Pietro Strozzi, into the Florentine territory, whereupon the army of the Duke of Florence pursued the French, and some skirmishes took place. The Duke's army then went to Pistoia, a place belonging to his Excellency, where it was reinforced by troops from the Duchy of Milan; and the French army, having enabled the Siennese to get in their harvest, returned into the Siennese territory, the Duke's army doing the like; and toward Porto Hercules, the Prior of Capua, when taking a Florentine castle, was dangerously wounded by a harquebuse shot.

Have advices from England that a personage has come to the most Serene Queen, being sent to her with a great present (*con grosso presente*) of jewels, by the Prince of Spain her husband, who was to embark at Corunna in the course of June, on his voyage, with the fleet, to England.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

916. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal de Tournon is of opinion that the Emperor has delayed raising other troops, having for some time been expecting the Spanish infantry, which is to come with the Prince his son, of whose passage to England he said they had as yet no news whatever; and that it was heard that the most serene Queen of England having need of money, had sent in quest of it to Antwerp, and to make a bargain with the merchants at the rate of 30 per cent. interest per annum; so, judging from the Queen's scarcity of money, his Right Rev. Lordship inferred that kingdom would remain at peace with this one.

Rheims, 10th July 1554.

[*Italian.*]

July 11.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
Printed in Vol. 4.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi
Poli," etc., with
the date
21st June 1554.

917. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

In the midst of the congratulations addressed to his Majesty from every quarter on his marriage to Queen Mary, Pole has a double claim to make himself heard, being Legate from the Pope, for the purpose of reconciling England to the Church, and of establishing peace between the Emperor, King Philip's father, and the King of France. The marriage of Philip and Mary encourages him to hope for the best; the Queen, to whom the crown belongs by hereditary right, earnestly desires it, admiring his endowments and prerogatives, especially his inherited title of "Catholic," confirmed by his education in the bosom of the Church; and having always worshipped that Catholic faith, which has been so harassed in England, the Queen, who bears the title of Defender of the Faith, has called

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him to be joined to her, for its maintenance, by the most holy bond of matrimony. His Majesty will also comprehend that the interests and wishes of the kingdom call for peace between the Emperor and France. Offers the King his services, and wishes him all prosperity.

From the monastery of Diligam (*sic*) [near Brussels], 11th July 1554.

[*Latin*, 56 lines.]

July 12.

Despatches from
England.
File 1.
Venetian
Archives.

918. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen yesterday received letters from the Prince and from her own Ambassador; the Prince was to embark on the 8th. This intelligence was forwarded last night in the greatest haste to the Emperor, whom it interests so deeply, that he will hear and receive it with no less joy and comfort than it has caused the Queen. His Highness' arrival in England from hour to hour may be considered certain, as from that day to this the wind was quite fair, and continues so. When it takes place, will give immediate notice of the fact, although as the Queen and the Emperor have many couriers on the watch in many places, for the instant conveyance of the news to many quarters, he thinks it may perhaps reach the Signory sooner through some other means than his.

London, 12th July, 1554.

[*Italian*.]

July 14.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

919. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the evening of the 8th the Emperor entered Namur, and on the 9th his army encamped near the town on a hill, where they subsequently raised trenches, a proof of their intending to remain there for some days. On the 10th the Emperor entered the castle, and would allow no one to accompany him, save Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] and the Signori Gastaldo and Doria; and on the morrow he chose to inspect the army, which has been lately increased by one thousand cavalry under the Prince of Orange, and by some Belgian bands (alcune bande di questi paesi), which are very sorry (assai triste); as also by 10 companies of High Germans under the Count of Nassau, fine troops, and by 10 other companies of Low Germans under Monsr. de Bederode; so that the Imperial camp may number from about 16 to 17,000 infantry, and about 5,000 horse, encamped as aforesaid, with Namur in their rear (con le spalle a Namur) in a very strong position, and secure from the enemy, as between the two camps there is a large wood and a strong and difficult road, which the French are not expected to take, and which is still being re-enforced, 1,000 Saxon cavalry under Count Schwartzenburg having already crossed the Rhine; and from the towns of Belgium (queste terre) they have ordered as many*

* This confirms the contents of a letter from Sir John Masone in Foreign Calendar, date Brussels, 10th July 1554, but it contains no other letter from Masone until the 2nd of August.

1554.

as 8,000 infantry, very sorry troops (*ben tristi*), and perhaps useless; and at Brussels a census has been made of all men able to carry arms, of whom a thousand have been selected, and will depart in two days. From other towns in like manner, troops paid for three months are being sent for his Majesty's service; and at Antwerp they are raising 2,000. On this account, and by reason of a certain tax laid upon beer, etc., the people of that place rebelled three days ago in a serious manner (*di mala maniera*), making much noise, and raising new questions (*et molta novità*), complaining that they were sent into the camp, and that it was intended to quarter the Spaniards in the town; so they seized the gates, and went to the burgomasters and governors, who barricaded themselves (*si rinchiusero*), to let the first ebullition subside, and then apologized to the people, asking their pardon, and also repealing their [new] taxes. There has also been some danger of a sack; and the people are still in possession of the gates, though it is hoped they will be pacified; and the Queen of Hungary, who is in a castle between Brussels and Louvain, has sent one of her attendants to allay the tumult.

In the meanwhile on the 9th the French took by storm a place on the Meuse, called *Bouvines*, a mile from *Dinant*. It had a garrison of 50 Spaniards, and some soldiers of the country, all of whom were cut to pieces; and then, with part of their army, the French crossed the river, and took the town of *Dinant*; after which, with a number of cannon, they battered the fortress, situated on the summit of a rock of no great height, but considered strong by reason of the difficulty of the ascent; and as neither the Germans nor the Switzers would make the assault, the Gascons attempted it on the evening of the 10th, but were repulsed with great loss, many of them having been killed by the artificial fire placed in the fosse. But on the 11th the French returned to the attack, and the defenders having first sent to the Emperor for a succour of 300 infantry, who did not make their appearance, commenced capitulating, and at length surrendered, their lives and body arms being spared them (*salve le persone con le arme di dosso*). Some say that the native soldiery who are from *Liège*, coerced their commanders, which others deny; but the result is that the French have possession of *Dinant*; and within was the Spanish captain *Julian*, with his company.* The Signor *Giovanni Battista Gastaldo* was sent in one direction and *Don Hernando* (*sic*) *dalla Noia* in another, with strong companies of foot and horse to succour the place or damage the enemy, but the fortress was surrounded, and they could do neither one thing nor the other. The capture of *Dinant* is not of great importance, save on account of the Meuse; but yet it was taken in sight of the Emperor, and those who were averse to his Majesty quitting Brussels now show how much his

* In the Foreign Calendar, entry 233, date Brussels, 7 July 1554, it is stated that Captain Julian had five ensigns of Spaniards and Liégeois. At page 96 it appears by a letter written to Queen Mary from Rheims on the 14th July 1554 by Dr. Wootton, that Captain Julian had formerly served in England, and that he and his soldiers departed from *Dinant* "with their swords by their sides."

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reputation is affected by this feat, he being at Namur, distant about four leagues from Dinant.

Mons. de Vendôme has lately invaded the county of Artois from Picardy with 6000 foot and 2000 horse, plundering and burning as far as the gates of Arras, to the great detriment of the province, making his way even into Flanders, well nigh to Lisle.

A letter has come from the Court of the Queen of England, dated the 10th instant, with news that on the 22nd ult. the Prince of Spain arrived at St. James of Galicia, where he gave a gracious reception to the English Ambassadors, and signed the marriage articles, and went thence to the port of Coruña, where all were to embark with the first fair weather.

Last night the cavalry of the two camps had a skirmish, the French having come within a league of Namur. They lost eight or ten men, and upwards of a hundred of the Imperialists are missing; so says a courier just arrived on his way to England, and all the inhabitants of the territory of Namur are escaping towards Brussels as fast as they can.

Another courier has arrived from England, having left on the 12th, with intelligence that the Spanish fleet had been sailing with a fair wind, and it was considered certain that on the 14th or 15th his Highness would be in Southampton harbour.

From Brussels, 14th July 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 20.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

920. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DÔGE and SENATE.

Gives an account (*in cipher*) of the invasion of Flanders by the French.

The Prince's departure from Coruña has been appointed for the 8th instant, but as yet it is not heard to have taken place; *and of late there has been very stormy weather in the British Channel. A fortnight ago, twenty armed French ships sailed from Dieppe to join some others of the same nation off the Scilly Isles (drieto alcune isole ditte Sille, al Capo di Anglia verso ponente).*

Brussels, 20th July 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 21.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

921. The SAME to the SAME.

Gives an account of the war in Flanders (*in cipher*).

To-day a gentleman arrived who says he comes from the fleet which is bringing the Prince of Spain, and that on the evening of the 19th instant he left his Highness on ship-board with his fleet off the Isle of Wight at the mouth of Southampton harbour, having sailed from Spain on the 15th, and with fair weather during the whole voyage, which has greatly rejoiced the Queen and all the others. The gentleman went straight to the Emperor, and it may be supposed that the Prince disembarked to-day.

Brussels, 21st July 1554.

[Italian.]

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July 22.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

922. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night a gentleman sent by the Queen, and another person also, both reported alike, that they have seen the most Serene Prince of Spain; that on the 19th he passed from his own ship into a frigate prepared for this purpose by the Admiral [Lord Howard of Effingham], who received his Highness and gave him a banquet on board the said frigate—so called by the English, although it is as large as a good-sized galliot—and on board of which, as by reason of the wind the ships could not conveniently get into port, he was taken to the landing place;* and then on disembarking he received and treated everybody with great graciousness and affability without any pomp or regal ceremony, mixing with them as a comrade, making many presents to several persons; and in Spain, to one of the Ambassadors of the Queen, he gave a gold cup worth 6000 crowns, and to the other a jewelled sword valued at 4000 crowns.† He is supposed to have entered Winchester to-day, and to have seen the Queen, and his coming is said to have been delayed on account of the money he brings, and which is said to be 3,000,000 of ducats: thus, 300,000 for the Queen of England, 1,000,000 for the merchants, and the rest for the Emperor. The infantry are in number about 4,500; the other particulars will be transmitted to the Signory from London,‡ and here we have not heard much more, as is usually the case with the first news (*come suol avvenire delle prime nove*).

Brussels, 22nd July 1554.

[Italian.]

July 28.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

923. The SAME to the SAME.

A courier from England arrived this morning, having left Winchester the night of the 25th. The Prince of Spain on landing was presented with the Order of the Garter, and received by a number of lords and others. On the morrow the Chancellor and many other Lords of the Council went to visit him on behalf of the Queen. On the 23rd he left Hampton for Winchester, accompanied by many marquises, dukes, earls, and other lords and gentlemen, besides those from Spain, having with him upwards of a thousand horse. He dismounted at the cathedral, where he was received by six bishops; and next day he went to visit the Queen, who came to meet him at the large hall. On the 25th the espousal was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing in the said church, with marvellous signs of great joy and satisfaction on the part of all the spectators; and during this ceremony the marriage articles (*le conventioni*) were confirmed and sworn to by the Prince, and the marriage was to be consummated that night. There were present at the espousal, the ambassadors from the Emperor, from the Kings of

* In the Foreign Calendar, date 25 July 1554, there is a letter from the Council to Dr. Wotton describing the reception of the Prince of Spain, who was met on the water by the Lord Steward, but nothing is said about the banquet.

† The two ambassadors were the Earl of Bedford and Viscount Fitzwalter. (See Foreign Calendar, June 5, 1554, p. 91.)

‡ The despatches of this date, written from London by the Ambassador Michiel, have not been preserved.

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the Romans and Bohemia, from your Serenity, from Savoy, Florence, and Ferrara, and many agents of Sovereign Princes (*Signori*). The proclamation was entitled thus: Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Prince of Spain, Archduke of Austria, &c. On the 28th instant, they were to leave Winchester for Windsor, where the festival (*la festa*) of the Garter will be held, and the entire population had evinced great satisfaction. In ten days the King and Queen will be in London. It was not said when the coronation would take place.

Some of the Spaniards commenced disembarking either because they were ordered to do so, or because they were tired of being on ship-board, but the English government (quelli Signori Inglesi) made them go back, and hastened the despatch of victuals to the seaside for the return of the fleet as soon as possible, and to send the Spaniards hitherwards (a quelle bande) immediately, it being said that they do not exceed 4,000, and that they are being supplied with clothes and arms of every sort, as they are nearly all destitute. They are expected to land at Dunkirk, and march through Flanders to join the army. It is understood that the Prince's coming was delayed owing, in great measure, to the difficulty he experienced in bringing this infantry out of Spain, as besides the dislike of "questi Signori" [the Spanish Government?] to the removal from their territory of so many men, few of whom return, there must be added the evil report taken to Spain last winter by the Spaniards who were disbanded here for the sake of economy, and proclaimed that their nation was very ill treated in these parts, both by the Imperial ministers and by the people likewise.

The title of King of Naples, assumed by the Prince of Spain, seeming new to me, I therefore spoke about it to many persons likely to know when the investiture was conferred, and amongst the rest I sent to the Regent of Naples, who is more surprised at it than anybody, nor, like the others, does he know anything about it, but a lady in office at the palace (una dama di palazzo) told a friend of mine, whom I sent to ask her the question, that this investiture was given at Augsburg when the Prince went thither from Italy.

The above written advices from England were extracted by me from a letter addressed by the Lords of the Council to Sir John Masoné; and when I expressed my surprise to him that the French Ambassador should not have been present at the espousal (*sponsalizio*), he was unable to assign any cause, nor has he any other advices than what I saw.

Brussels, 28th July 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher, the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

294. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Further account of the war in Flanders (*in cipher*).

The English Ambassador at this Court has sent to tell me that last night he received a courier with news of the arrival on that

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island of the Prince of Spain on the 20th ult.; that on the 25th, the espousals (*le nozze*) took place, and that he had consummated the marriage (*il matrimonio*). Wotton says that none but his guard of halberdiers, and the princes and lords who accompanied his Highness, disembarked with him, and that the rest of the troops remained on board the fleet, which numbers about 120 sail, now at anchor in one of those ports to take in victuals and refreshments (*vettoraglie et rinfrescamenti*), and they are then to steer towards Flanders, with a good sum of money, and the Spanish infantry, the amount of whom he was unable to tell me. He added that on the day of the marriage aforesaid, a courier arrived with letters from the Emperor to the Prince, renouncing in his favour the crowns of the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem (*che gli renuntiava le corone delli regni di Napoli, di Sicilia, et di Hierusalem*); and the Ambassador believed that by this time his Highness will also have been crowned King of England, and that in a few days a general Parliament of the realm will be held for the affairs of the religion, the Right Rev. Cardinal Pole to be present there, as your Serenity will be informed more in detail by your ambassador at that Court.

Compiegne, 31st July 1554.

[Italian.]

Aug. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

925. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Auditor [Ormanetto?] of the Right Rev. Legate has arrived from Rome with letters from his Holiness, greatly commending all that Cardinal Pole has done (*tutto il procedere di S. S. Rev^{ma}*), giving him leave either to remain [in Brussels], or go [to England], at his option (*dandole libertà di stare et andare come vole*), and fuller powers to do what shall seem expedient to him there about the affairs of the religion, and especially with regard to such Church property as has been alienated and placed in the Exchequer, or bestowed on private individuals,* having no care nor thought for anything but to gain those souls (*ne pensier d' altro che di guadagnar quelle anime*), and bring them back to the obedience of the Apostolic See; so the Cardinal has sent one of his attendants to the King, and to the English Queen, to persuade both one and the other to attend heart and soul (*ad attendere con ogni spirito*) to the religion, and to bring back that kingdom to its pristine state (*et ridur quel regno nel suo pristino essere*), as becoming their titles of "Catholic" and "Defender of the Faith," and not to show themselves ungrateful for the great benefits conferred by the Almighty on her Majesty.†

But as Cardinal Pole strongly suspects that in England they will do neither more nor less than what the Emperor tells or commands them,‡ he has sent this same Auditor [Ormanetto?] to acquaint his Imperial Majesty with the deep interest (grande affet-

* Et specialmente delli beni delle chiese alienati, et posti nel publico et nel privato.

† Et non usar ingratitude delli grandi beneficii che Dio ha fatti ad essa Regina.

‡ Ma perchè sua Signoria Reverendissima dubita assai che in Anglia non si farà più ne meno di quello che sarà ditto ovvero ordinato da Cesare.

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tion) deservedly taken by his Holiness in this cause of England, and to demonstrate to him, that for his own advantage, he should desire Pole to go and introduce the Catholic religion into that island, and by means of it render the people much more obedient to the Crown than when they were of one creed, and their sovereigns of another.*

The Cardinal will await the opinion of the Emperor, who, as told to me on good authority, sent to the Prince his son by the Regent, Figueroa, when he went to England, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and Jerusalem; which has been kept a most profound secret, and was known solely to the Secretary Vargas and the aforesaid Figueroa; this step having been taken to give repute to the marriage, by conferring on the Prince the title of King.

Subsequent advices from the camp received yesterday announce that the Emperor chooses (vole) the Prince to be forthwith (de presenti) put in possession of the entire government of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and of what relates to justice, acts of grace, and current affairs (et le cose di justitia et di gratia, et li negotii pendenti), and he has had it intimated to the Regents of Naples and Sicily, who are here at Brussels, to prepare for going to England for this purpose on receiving the order, though I do not believe it will be given so immediately, as there will be many things to do before effecting this change, and especially because a trustworthy person has told me that the Emperor wrote to the Prince, his son, saying it would please him, should the Queen give her consent, were he, shortly after the coronation, to cross over to these parts, he saying that he wished to come and assist his father in his present necessities (in questi bisogni); and I am informed that the object of this arrangement is to guarantee the Prince against any stir which the English might make at this commencement, and also to gain repute for him by his treating these momentous affairs of the war here. They are very intent on this scheme, and therefore give him the government of those kingdoms; and he will have councils (consegli), and men of gravity and esteem about him, thus obtaining great repute.

Brussels, 4th August 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher, the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

• Aug. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

926. The SAME to the SAME.

Account (*in cipher*) of the war in the Low Countries, and of a dispute with respect to the neutrality of Treves.

Cardinal Pole's Auditor [Ormanetto?] has arrived from the camp; the conclusion is, that they put off his Right Rev. Lordship's journey to England, and it is evident that the Emperor does not approve of his going thither.†

* Et col mezzo di quella a far i populi assai più obedienti a quella corona di ciò che s'erano essendo loro di una religione, et li loro Re di un'altra.

† È giunto dal campo lo audiatore del Rev^{mo} Legato; la stima è che si proroga la andata di sua Sig^{ra} Rev^{ma} in Anglia, et si vede chiaro che Cesare non ha piacer che vi vada.

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*The attendants of the Legate and Nuncio [Muzzarelli], who have returned from the camp, say that, in the presence of the Duke of Savoy and the chief personages, they heard it said that the Turks have come to a rupture with your Serenity, on the authority of the advices from Trent, which were sent hence to the camp, but my letter to the Bishop of Arras will have explained the matter to them.**

Brussels, 5th August 1554.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

927. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has seen a letter from Cardinal d'Epemon at Rome, touching the disagreement between the Pope and the Duke of Florence, and gives an account of the Cardinal's interview with the Pope on the subject.

It is reported here that the Spaniards who came with the most Serene Prince of Spain, having landed at a short distance from Calais, took a French fortress called Ambleteuse (Ablatu), between Boulogne and Calais, and I detained my letter the whole of this day, in order to ascertain the fact, but receiving no further confirmation of it, save this public rumour, I will no longer delay this packet, and refer myself to my next for more certain news of the circumstance.

Compiegne, 7th August 1554.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

928. MARC ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago there arrived here Count Horn, sent by King Philip, and an English gentleman, on behalf of the Queen, to give the Emperor account of what took place at the marriage, and of its consummation. The Emperor in return has sent a gentleman of his chamber, Mons. d'Hibermon (sic), with congratulations, and, perhaps, to convey some other orders. The Ambassador from Ferrara has also returned hither from England, whither he went for these festivities, but comes back in a very melancholy mood, from having been deprived of the precedence claimed by him over the Florentine Ambassador, and because on his return he was plundered by English highwaymen (dalli ladroni di quel paese).†

Gives an account of the war in the Low Countries (in cipher).

I understand that three days ago, 500 cavalry escorted from Calais (a place belonging to the English) to the Emperor's sea town of Gravelines, a considerable sum of money, which came with the Prince of Spain, but I do not know the amount, and during these [last

* A ciphered paragraph in the letter dated 4th August informed the Senate that it was not for the honour of the Signory to have it reported that the Turks meditated invasion of the Venetian territory, or that they had put the Venetian fleet to flight, and therefore Damula wrote to the Bishop of Arras, suggesting the probable origin of this false intelligence.

† This Ferrarese Ambassador was Count Rodrigo Montecucolo, see Foreign Calendar, year 1554, pp. 89, 90, 107. At p. 118, allusion is made to the dispute about precedence in a letter from Sir John Mason, dated Brussels, 18 September, but it makes no mention of the robbery.

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few] days the mart of Antwerp has become more liberal (*più larga*).

Brussels, 11th August 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta).
vol. lxi., p. 35.

929. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have lately received several sets (*mani*) of his letters down to the 20th ult., the last of which announce the arrival in England of the most Serene Prince of Spain,* his reception at the port of Hampton, and the order given in the Queen's name to him and the other Ambassadors to betake themselves to Salisbury, where their lodgings were prepared for them. Desire him again to perform a congratulatory office with their Majesties in England.

Ayes, 202. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta).
vol. lxi., p. 36,
tergo.

930. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPOLE.

By advices from England dated the 20th July, the Prince of Spain arrived there on the preceding day with 130 large ships (*grosse navi*) and soldiery, and landed in Southampton harbour, and by letters from Brussels, dated the 29th, it seems that the marriage was celebrated on the 25th, and consummated that same night.

Ayes, 44. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 3.

Amendment. Ayes, 159.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

931. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By my last of the 5th I announced the return of Cardinal Pole's Auditor (Ormanetto?) from the camp, he having then just arrived, so I was unable at the moment to learn any details, the summary of which was, that the Bishop of Arras told the Auditor that by no means was the Right Reverend the Legate to think of going to England without permission from the Emperor; and even were he to ask it during ten thousand years he must not think to obtain it unless he sent his Majesty the powers lately received from Rome, authorizing him to dispose of the Church property which had been alienated, and either placed in the Exchequer or bestowed on private English subjects; and, moreover, unless he acquainted his Majesty with his opinion and intention with regard to what he meant to do about the said Church property, as this was a very important matter, on which the quiet or commotion of all England depended.† On hearing this,

* On the 26th July 1554. See Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, July 25, 1554, p. 106.

† Scrisse del ritorno dell' Auditor del Rev^{mo} Legato dal campo, donde egli era venuto poco innanzi; et però non potei hora saper i particolari, liquali in somma furono che Mons. di Arras disse all' Auditor preditto, che il Rev^{mo} Legato non si pensasse di andar in Anglia ad alcun modo, senza licentia dell' Imperatore, et se ben la demandasse 10 mille anni, non pensasse di doverla havere se non mandava a sua Maestà le facultà novamente

1554.

Cardinal Pole clearly understood that the Emperor does not choose him to go to that island, the Legate being unable to tell his Majesty what he purposes doing about the Church property, because it is of various sorts, and the mode of alienation varies, each of which [cases] requires different cognizance and [a different] award. So, as the Queen wished to see them, he has this day sent her a copy of the powers; and as she seemed desirous that he should go to England his Right Reverend Lordship will remain here awaiting a decision either from here or from there (o di quà c di là), but the English Government does not gainsay the will of the Imperial ministry (ma quelli di là, non si parteno dal volere di questi).*

Concerning the sum of money which, as written by me yesterday, was escorted from Calais to Gravelines, I understand from a person who was present when the cases were loaded and unloaded, that it does not exceed 300,000 crowns. Great part of the silver brought from Spain is in plates.†

It is being treated about, to give the government of the kingdom of Naples to the Queen of Poland,‡ together with a council, and the Emperor has already said that he is content with this; and they are endeavouring to obtain the consent of the King of England, who is expected to give it readily, the kingdom of Naples being now weary and depressed (afflitto) by the many wrongs (travagli) endured at the hands of the Spanish governors. The ambassador of the Queen aforesaid [Bonna Sforza?] has purchased an organ at Antwerp for 3,000 crowns, as also goldsmith's work to the amount of 6,000, to give to the Queen of England, and will go thither to endeavour to arrange this business, which is supposed to be very near conclusion. A chamberlain (un camerier) of the Duke of Florence has arrived post-wise, express, and went off immediately to the camp. The Duke's ambassador keeps the news secret, but I understand it announces the rout of Strozzi's army, and some proposal (partite) from the Siennese; and they keep it secret, lest further orders or reinforcement be sent forthwith from France to Italy.

Brussels, 12th August 1554.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

havute da Roma del poter disponer delli beni ecclesiastici alienati et posti così nel fisco, come nelli particolari di Anglia, et oltra di ciò se non facesse saper a sua Maestà la opinione et volontà sua sopra quello che voleva far circa essi beni ecclesiastici, perchè questa era materia importantissima et concernente la quiete o perturbatione di tutto quel regno.

* Non gli pol dire quello che egli vogli far delli beni ecclesiastici, perchè di essi sono diversi conditioni et diverse alienationi sopra cadauna di le qual bisogna far una differente cognitione et iudicio.

† E in *piastre*. "*Piastre*" signifies a thin plate of any metal. Dr. Johnson does not give the etymology of *piaster*, nor do I know when the word was first used to signify "an Italian coin about five shillings sterling in value."

‡ The reigning Queen of Poland was Catherine of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, niece of Charles V., widow of Francesco Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and third wife of Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, to whom she was married in the year 1553. (See *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*.) This regency of Naples by the Queen of Poland was not effected, and I believe it related not to the reigning queen but to the Queen Dowager Bonna Sforza, who by her last will appointed King Philip heir to her whole Duchy of Bari, estimated at 150,000 ducats per annum. (See *Foreign Calendar*, date Rome, 1st December 1557, entry No. 688, pp. 346-347.)

1554.

Aug. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

932. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote that the Emperor had given the government of Naples and Sicily to the King of England, but for the present he gives him Naples alone, and not Sicily. The Fuggers have made a bargain (*un partito*) with the court for 150,000 crowns. The securities are not yet given, but it is thought these States will bind themselves, *as I also hear that Brabant, Flanders, and Holland are content to furnish a certain quota* (*un certo che*), *but the sum is not yet limited.*

At Antwerp they have postponed the payments for one month, allowing 1 per cent. interest per month to such as will accept it (*a chi vole*), because the moneys from Spain have not yet arrived.

Brussels, 13th August 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 18.
Senato Mar,
v. xxxii. p. 159.
Ser^{mus}, Princeps,
Consiliarij
Cap. de XL.,
Sap. T. F.
Sap. Ordinum.

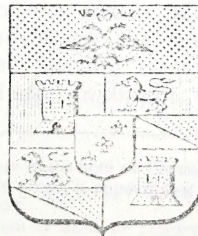
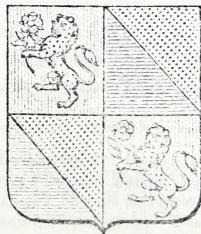
933. CONFIRMATION of GRANTS made by KING EDWARD and QUEEN MARY to the AMBASSADOR SORANZO.

By the report (*relatione*) of Giacomo Soranzo, knight, lately returned from his embassy to England, the Senate has heard of the gracious and loving demonstrations made towards him, both by the late most Serene King Edward, and by the most Serene Queen. The former, when he knighed Soranzo, gave him his royal badge;* and the latter, on his departure from England, gave him a chain, as customary with regard to other ambassadors from the Signory. The aforesaid nobleman having been obliged to incur great expense for the honour and dignity of the State, both at the Queen's coronation and also in consequence of the changes and disturbances which occurred several times in England during his 41 months embassy there, the scarcity of everything having been constant and excessive, it becomes the Republic to exercise towards the said ambassador their usual liberality, both as a mark and testimony that his toil and service have been agreeable to them, as also that it may serve as an example for other ambassadors, to sustain their grade with dignity, and to the honour of the Signory:

Put to the ballot,—

That the aforesaid gifts be freely given, by authority of this

* Amongst the Soranzo shields engraved by Coronelli, two bear the lion of England, thus,



1554.

Council, to their ambassador aforesaid, as conceded to others in similar cases.

Ser Philippus Foscari, Sap. Cons.

Ser Aloysius Mocenico, Eqs. Sap. T.F.

Ser Hierons. Venerio, Sap. Ordinum.

1554 die 18 Augti. in Collegio existente in Exmo. Senatu.

Ayes, 181. Noes, 29. Neutrals, 6.

24 — 1 — 0 $\frac{4}{5}$, expulsis affinibus.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18.
Report of
England,
MS. no. 1,072,
in the Correr
Museum.

934. REPORT OF ENGLAND made to the SENATE by GIACOMO SORANZO, late Ambassador to Edward VI. and Queen Mary.

The business of the Signory's ambassadors consists chiefly in three things: in the diligent execution of the commissions received by them, in sending detailed and speedy advices of what occurs in the courts where they reside, and in acquainting the Senate on their return with whatever may be worth knowing; so having been ambassador to King Edward VI., and after his death to Queen Mary, for the term in all of 41 months,* and having to the best of his ability done what was required touching the two first points, will allude to them no further, save inasmuch as shall be necessary, and coming to the third, will divide it into three principal parts. In the first, will tell of the Queen's qualities, and with what difficulty she obtained the crown, and will also speak of her nearest kindred. In the second, will tell of her realms, and military and naval forces, and of her revenues and expenditure. In the last, will speak of the mode of government, both with regard to church, realm, and state, and conclude with a few remarks about her Majesty's understanding with such neighbouring foreign powers as trade with England.

Personal description of
Queen Mary.

The most Serene Madame Mary is entitled Queen of England and of France, and Defendress (*Difensora*) of the Faith. She was born on the 18th February 1515, so she yesterday completed her 38th year and six months. She is of low stature, with a red and white complexion, and very thin; her eyes are white† and large, and her hair reddish; her face is round, with a nose rather low and wide (*largo*); and were not her age on the decline she might be called handsome (*bella*) rather than the contrary. She is not of a strong constitution, and of late she suffers from headache and serious affection of the heart (*grave passione di cuore*) [query, physical palpitation of the heart, or mental anxiety], so that she is often obliged to take medicine, and also to be bled. She is of very spare diet, and never eats until 1 or 2 p.m., although she rises at daybreak, when, after saying her prayers and hearing mass in private, she transacts business incessantly, until after midnight, when she retires

* In the Register "*Secretario alle voci*," there is no note of Soranzo's election, but by the Register "*Senato Terra*," vol. xxxvii., p. 100 tergo, it appears that the Senate appointed him to succeed Daniel Barbaro in February 1551.

† "*Bianchi*," not grey. The same expression is used by Horace Walpole, in a letter to Lord Stratford (date August 16, 1768), describing the person of the king of Denmark.

1554.
SORANZO'S
REPORT
on England
(Aug. 18.)

to rest; for she chooses to give audience not only to all the members of her Privy Council, and to hear from them every detail of public business, but also to all other persons who ask it of her. Her Majesty's countenance indicates great benignity and clemency, which are not belied by her conduct, for although she has had many enemies, and though so many of them were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely on her Majesty's will, not one of them perhaps would have been enforced; but deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others rather than with her own (*ma deferendo lei ogni cosa al suo Consejo anco in questo ha più soddisfatto ad altri, che a se medesima*). She is endowed with excellent ability, and more than moderately read in Latin literature, especially with regard to Holy Writ; and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French, and Spanish, and understands Italian perfectly, but does not speak it. She is also very generous, but not to the extent of letting it appear that she rests her chief claim to commendation on this quality.

She is so confirmed (*firmata*) in the Catholic religion that although the King her brother and his Council prohibited her from having the mass celebrated according to the Roman Catholic ritual, she nevertheless had it performed in secret, nor did she ever choose by any act to assent to any other form of religion, her belief in that in which she was born being so strong that had the opportunity offered she would have displayed it at the stake, her hopes being placed in God alone, so that she constantly exclaims: "*In te Domine confido, non confundar in aeternum: si Deus est pro nobis, quis contra nos?*" Her Majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet, and is a very good performer on both instruments; and indeed before her accession she taught many of her maids of honour (*molte sue damigelle*). But she seems to delight above all in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently, and her garments are of two sorts; the one, a gown such as men wear, but fitting very close, with an under-petticoat which has a very long train; and this is her ordinary costume, being also that of the gentlewomen of England. The other garment is a gown and bodice, with wide hanging sleeves (*con le maniche larghe rovesciate*) in the French fashion, which she wears on state occasions; and she also wears much embroidery, and gowns and mantles (*sopravesti*) of cloth of gold and cloth of silver, of great value, and changes every day. She also makes great use of jewels, wearing them both on her chaperon and round her neck, and as trimming for her gowns; in which jewels she delights greatly, and although she has a great plenty of them left her by her predecessors, yet were she better supplied with money than she is, she would doubtless buy many more.

Account of the
repudiation by
Henry VIII.
of Katharine
of Arragon.

Her Majesty's father was the most serene King Henry VIII., and her mother the most serene Katharine, daughter of King Ferdinand, the Catholic, of Spain, and sister of the Emperor's mother; and therefore on her Majesty's birth, the King her father proclaimed her heiress of the realm, although shortly after, she was bastardized,

1554.
SORANZO'S
REPORT
on England
(Aug. 18.)

the cause being, that after the King her father had cohabited during 20 consecutive years with the Queen her mother in the most complete love and concord, he became enamoured of a damsel in the Queen's service, an English girl, by name Anne Boleyn, and wishing to enjoy her, not merely as his mistress, but if possible as his wife, his flatterers, and principally the Cardinal of York, at that time the King's chief favourite, and who was unfriendly towards the Queen, had it represented to him by his Confessor that his marriage with Queen Katharine was invalid, she having previously been the wife of his brother Prince Arthur. The King, therefore, although he had had a dispensation from Pope Julius, empowering him to contract this marriage, did nevertheless not scruple to send ambassadors to Pope Clement, to hear his opinion, whether this marriage was valid or not; hoping that as the Pope was then at enmity with the Emperor, he would favour his wishes; and his Holiness gave such ear to this matter, that, according to the English, he encouraged almost certain hope that the divorce would take place; but a little later, the Pope having come to a better understanding with the Emperor, by reason of the assistance rendered for the enterprise against Florence by his Imperial Majesty, who made great suit in favour of Queen Katharine, the Pope sent Cardinal Campeggio to London, in order that, together with the Cardinal of York, he might settle the difficulty; but the King and Queen not agreeing to [abide by] the sentence (*ma non s' accordando il Re et la Regina del giudizio*) Cardinal Campeggio went back without any decision, although, had they agreed to accept the award, the Queen would have consented to the divorce, provided the King took oath, that the first time he consummated marriage with her, he had not found her a virgin;* offering moreover to prove that long before the death of Prince Arthur, he was known to be consumptive, and of so bad a constitution, that although they lived five months together, he had been unable to consummate marriage with her.

On the return to Rome, therefore, of Cardinal Campeggio, the Pope had the King summoned to restore the Queen—from whom he was already separated—to her matrimonial rights (*alla coniunzione maritale*), but the King not only refused obedience, but repudiated the Queen entirely; and celebrated his marriage with Anne, and had her crowned, causing his daughter, the Lady Mary, to be declared a bastard, and therefore deprived of the succession to the Crown; on which account, the Pope having excommunicated him, he withdrew his obedience from his Holiness and the Church; and Parliament declared him Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, which title he subsequently held until his death, as did his son Edward likewise. Her present Majesty resigned the title, but when she wished Parliament to pass an Act rescinding it from the Crown, the bill was rejected, it being merely

The title of
"Supreme
Head."

* "Se bene quando fussero stati concordi del giudizio, la Regina si sarebbe contentata, che, giurando il Re, che la prima fiata, che seco consumò il matrimonio et non l'aveva ritrovata vergine, si facesse il divorzio."

1554.

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carried that she was at liberty to assume the title or not, in order not utterly to deprive her successors of it, as written by me to your Serenity after the first coronation.*

Not long after the marriage of Anne Boleyn, the Lady Elizabeth was born, and immediately declared heir to the Crown, in which grade she remained a very short time, because her mother being beheaded on suspicion of adultery, she in like manner was deposed from the succession, and proclaimed a bastard.

Henry VIII.'s
will.

Subsequently in 1547, the late King Edward being 10 years old, his father, by reason of his great corpulence, having little hope of life, and wishing to make his last testament, assembled Parliament, and made it pass an Act, whereby he was given liberty, notwithstanding a law to the contrary, to institute his daughters heirs to the Crown in case his son should be childless; and this he had done, as by the statutes of the realm bastards cannot succeed to the Crown; so he made his will, leaving the kingdom to Edward, on condition that, should he die without children, the Lady Mary was to succeed him, provided she had not married, save with the consent of his Council; and in case she also should leave no legitimate heirs, she was to be succeeded by the Lady Elizabeth, who, if she also died childless, was to be succeeded by the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, late Queen widow of France, King Henry's sister; and after the Lady Jane, she not having children, her two other sisters, one after the other, were to succeed, and in the event of their leaving no children, the Crown was to pass to the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Eleanor Countess of Cumberland, second daughter of the Lady Mary, late Queen widow of France aforesaid.

Accession of
Edward VI.

On the death of King Henry he was succeeded by King Edward, a youth of very handsome presence, with which his mental endowments corresponded. Whilst under the guardianship of his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, he attended to his studies with marvellous success, learning not only Latin but Greek likewise, though when the government was changed and Somerset replaced by the Duke of Northumberland,† who was a soldier at heart and by profession, he changed the King's studies accordingly, and had him taught to ride and handle his weapons, and to go through other similar exercises, so that his Majesty soon commenced arming and tilting, managing horses, and delighting in every sort of exercise, drawing the bow, playing rackets, hunting, and so forth, indefatigably, though he never neglected his studies.

By these means the Duke obtained great favour with him, and to gain him more completely not only caused entertainments to be made for his diversion, but supplied him freely with money, appointing a Lord Privy Purse (*un tesoriere suo proprio*), recommending him to make presents, and show that he was King; but what

* The letter no longer exists. When Soranzo made his "Report," a second coronation was expected in honour of King Philip.

† John Dudley Viscount Lisle, and created Earl of Warwick on the accession of Edward VI., did not become Duke of Northumberland, until the sixth of the same reign. Soranzo had known John Dudley personally as Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, by which last title he here alludes to him.

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on England
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mattered more, he made him acquainted with all public business, and chose to have his opinion, in such wise that his commands might then be executed without delay.* But although his Majesty seemed much satisfied with this proceeding on the part of the Duke, yet such was the excellence of his natural disposition that he would never do any act, either of grace or justice, without the approval of his Council, by which means he became so popular with his councillors and the whole country that there is perhaps no instance on record of any other King of that age being more beloved, or who gave greater promise, his Majesty's obstinate adherence to the heresy, alone detracting from so many merits, though for this also he may be excused as he was educated according to its precepts.

His illness.

Last year, however, precisely at the moment when it was hoped he would commence ruling in person, he was seized with a malady, which the physicians soon knew to be consumption (*fu conosciuta essere da etico*), and in a few days his life was despaired of.

His will.

Thereupon, the Duke of Northumberland, whose mode of proceeding had rendered him all powerful with the King, devised a plan, whereby, in the event of the well nigh certain death of his Majesty, the kingdom was to pass into Northumberland's own hands; and his first act was to obtain from the King that the Duke of Suffolk should give his eldest daughter, Lady Jane Grey, in marriage to Northumberland's fourth son, Guildford Dudley, the only one of his five sons then unmarried. Thus was it done, and after performance of the marriage ceremony, with a display truly regal, his Majesty becoming daily worse, they persuaded him to make a will, representing to him that the King, his father, had acted illegally by making the will he did, as bastards may not succeed to the Crown; and if the King obtained this from Parliament it was an unlawful act, as, without legitimate cause, Parliament could not deprive the legitimate line of the succession, so that the Act, to the prejudice of the Lady Jane, was null, she being the next legitimate heir after King Edward; in addition to which, the Lady Mary having chosen to persist in her old opinion about the religion, and having thus disobeyed the decrees of Parliament and of his Majesty himself, she deserved on this account likewise to forfeit the succession; and, moreover, as neither Mary nor Elizabeth (*ne l'una ne l'altra*) had a husband, it might easily come to pass that they would marry an alien, and place the country under foreign jurisdiction, she [Mary] having clearly demonstrated how little love she bore the English nation. The King being moved by these arguments, but yet more by his wish to oblige Northumberland in everything, made his testament, instituting Lady Jane Grey his heir, and having summoned all his councillors, announced his will (*volontà*) to them, making them read his testament, which he then signed with his own hand, and had it sealed with the great seal of the realm, ordering all the councillors to sign it in like manner, as they did, immediately; and a few days afterwards, namely on the 6th July 1553, he died at the age of 14 years, eight months, and 28 days, having reigned about six years.

* "Ma quello che importava più, voleva che gli riferissero tutti gli negozj et si avesse il parere, in tanto che quello che lui comandava, voleva che fusse eseguito senza più dilazione."

1554.

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(Aug. 18.)

The Duke of
Northumber-
land's relations
with Princess
Mary.

In the mean while, Northumberland did not fail doing his utmost to ensure the success of this great scheme, endeavouring, above all, that his negotiations should be kept very secret, and especially from the Lady Mary (notwithstanding which they were known to him, Soranzo, who gave a detailed account of them to the Signory);* and having by divers means contrived to enjoy no less credit with the Lady Mary than with the King, he imagined that by continuing to perform similar offices he should convince her of his good will, and retain his influence. Amongst other things he gave her to understand that, without any doubt, she would be Queen, although but few of the members of the Council wished it, but he, on the contrary, would risk his life and whatever else he had for her service. He thus convinced her so completely, and so secured her favour, that, although those who really wished her to be Queen knew of the Duke's deceit, having discovered his intrigues, yet did they not dare divulge anything to the Lady Mary from fear, lest, instead of providing for her own safety, she might reveal everything to him, and thus ruin them completely; but, by secret means, having let her know how the plot was proceeding, they suggested that she could do nothing more advantageous for herself than to simulate with the Duke, and evince greater trust in him than ever, as he would thus feel sure, whereas any fear of detection might make him seek to guard himself against her by some worse means.

Mary's pro-
ceedings on
Edward's death.

Her Majesty—as it pleased God—gave ear to the warning of her friends, and followed their advice to the letter; so Northumberland, thinking he could get possession of her whenever he pleased, did not change his conduct towards the Lady Mary, whose friends however, considering all that might occur, contrived when the King was at the point of death to let her know it; whereupon, although it was night, she took flight with six attendants, including two of her maids of honour, and went to Norwich, where having been refused admittance, she stopped a short way off; and although without money or other aid, she nevertheless in a few days mustered an army of 30,000 men, and formed a council from amongst the most faithful of those adherents who joined her.

Lady Jane at
the Tower.

On the other hand, shortly after the King's death, Northumberland sent to arrest her, but she was gone, and at the very moment when he took Lady Jane to the Tower, as is usually done to those who are to be crowned, news reached him that the Lady Mary had commenced mustering an army, and in many places had been proclaimed Queen, and hearing that her forces increased he determined to march against them in person, but could not raise more than 2,000 horse and foot; so the Lords (*Signori*) in the Tower with Lady Jane became alarmed, especially on perceiving how dissatisfied the city of London was; and when they heard that eight of the largest ships had gone over from the Duke to the Lady Mary, giving her all their guns and ammunition, they quitted the Tower, leaving the Lady Jane a prisoner there, issuing also an order for the Duke's arrest; and having assembled in the house of the Earl of Pembroke,

* In a despatch which has not been found.

1554.

SORANZO'S
REPORT
on England
(Aug. 18.)Proclamation of
Queen Mary.Mary's rela-
tions with
Elizabeth.Charges against
Elizabeth.

they immediately proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen. This took place on the 19th July 1553, when her Majesty's proclamation took place to the great joy of the people, which was evinced to the utmost by bell-ringing, bonfires and shouts of applause; so that in those few days she settled the business, and on the 3rd of August following, made her entry into London with 1,000 horse, being met by all the ambassadors including him (Soranzo), who went towards her a distance of 10 miles from London, with 150 mounted attendants. On the 22nd of August she had Northumberland beheaded on the scaffold as usual at Tower Hill, and on the 1st of October she was crowned by the Bishop of Winchester.

Immediately after this ceremony she assembled Parliament, and forthwith repealed the Acts passed at the instigation of her father, concerning the divorce from Queen Katharine, so that the marriage being declared valid, Her Majesty remained legitimate daughter, the Lady Elizabeth being consequently bastardized, because born in the life-time of the Catholic Queen (*della Regina Cattolica*). From that time forth a great change took place in Queen Mary's treatment of her, for whereas until then she had shown her every mark of honour, especially by always placing her beside her when she appeared in public, so did she now by all her actions show that she held her in small account. This disquieting her Excellency, she asked leave to go to her country house [Ashridge], and although some persons were of opinion that the Queen should have refused it, Her Majesty, not loving her (as she had demonstrated by very clear signs, even in the lifetime of King Edward) (*come con molti assai chiari segni ne havea dimostrato anco in vita del Re Eduardo*), granted the permission. After Wyatt's insurrection (*la sollevazione di Wiel—sic*), she was accused of being his accomplice; so both on this account, and also by reason of some suspicion of a matrimonial alliance between her and Courtenay, Earl of Devon, she was sent for to London, although indisposed, and after remaining under custody for a few days in the Queen's palace [at Whitehall], she was at length taken to the Tower. But what perhaps gave more cause for suspicion than anything else, was, that at the time of these insurrections the French ambassador being strongly suspected of having an understanding with the rebels, the Council seized a packet of letters which he was sending to France, and in it they found the copy of a letter sent a few days previously to the Queen by the Lady Elizabeth, in reply to a certain communication made to her by her Majesty about the marriage with the Prince of Spain; and as it contained certain words to which a suspicious meaning was attributed, they inferred that she herself had given the copy to the ambassador for the King, by reason of her secret understanding with him. But although her Excellency confuted all these charges, yet was she not set quite at liberty, for on being released from the Tower, they took her to a palace [Woodstock], where she is in the custody of certain gentlewomen sent by the Queen to keep her company.*

* The Lady Elizabeth was released from the Tower on the 19th May 1554, and by way of Richmond, Windsor, and Ricote proceeded straight to Woodstock, where she

1554.

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Personal de-
scription of
Elizabeth.

She was the daughter of Henry VIII. and Queen Anne Boleyn, and was born on the 7th September 1533, so she is now about twenty-one years old; her figure and face are very handsome, and such an air of dignified majesty pervades all her actions that no one can fail to suppose she is a queen (*è di corpo et di faccia molto bella et disposta con una sì grave maestà in tutte le sue operazioni, che non è alcuna che non la giudichi Regina*). She is a good Greek and Latin scholar, and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian most perfectly (*benissimo*); and her manners are very modest and affable (*et è di costumi molto modesti et umani*). During the life-time of King Edward she held (*tenne*) his opinion about the religion, but since the Queen's accession she has adapted herself to the will of her Majesty.

Lady Jane's
sisters.

According to the will of King Henry, the next in succession after the Lady Elizabeth were the daughters of the Duchess of Suffolk, the eldest of whom, Lady Jane Grey, having been beheaded, two remain, the eldest of them having been promised to the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, a most powerful and popular nobleman; but as he knows that this alliance could but cause him great embarrassment, by reason of the marriage of Philip and Mary, he was on the point of breaking it off when he (Soranzo) left England. According to this same will, the next in succession to the crown after the ladies Grey, would be the Countess of Cumberland,* who is not yet married, but holds place in the Queen's privy chamber (*ma è della camera segreta della Regina*).

Description of
Courtenay.

The next in blood to the crown is Courtenay, Earl of Devon, descended from a younger daughter of Edward IV.; he is twenty-nine years old, and when his father, the Marquis of Exeter, was beheaded on the charge of having had an understanding with Cardinal Pole, this son of his was also put in the Tower, where he remained fifteen years, but the present Queen released him and restored the earldom, with 15,000 ducats revenue, supposing that he was to marry her; but after the stipulation of the marriage with the Prince of Spain, being suspected of complicity with the Kentish insurgents, Courtenay was again sent to the Tower, but as there were no proofs against him they took him out and placed him in a palace under custody of some gentlemen sent by the Queen.† He is of well proportioned frame (*di corpo ben disposto*), has had a very good literary education, and speaks several languages, but having been so long in prison he has neither that spirit nor experience which his position would require.

remained until April 1555. Soranzo seems to have left London in June 1554, but I am unable to ascertain the day of his departure; though as his successor Michiel arrived in London on the 22d May 1554, it is improbable that Soranzo should have remained with him beyond June.

* Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, by his first wife Eleanor Brandon, youngest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk by Mary Tudor, Queen Dowager of France. Margaret Clifford was born in the year 1540, and on the 7th February 1555, was married to Lord Strange, eldest son of the Earl of Derby. (See Collins' Peerage, vol. vi. p. 523.)

† On the 25th May 1554, Courtenay was brought from the Tower, and conveyed to Fotheringham Castle in Northamptonshire under the care of Sir Thomas Tresham. (See Collins, vol. vi. p. 258.)

1554.

SORANZO'S
REPORT
on England
(Aug. 18.)Mary Queen of
Scots.

The kingdom of Scotland is held by Queen Mary, of the Stuart family, sole heir of her father King James, son of Queen Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry VIII.; so that had Lady Jane Grey remained Queen, the Queen of Scotland being descended from the elder sister, and Lady Jane from the younger, she would have had a strong claim, although not mentioned in King Henry's will.

Queen Mary of Scotland, being now twelve years old, is out of her minority, during which she was under the guardianship of the Earl of Arran, who is also styled Duke of Chatelherault, in right of a duchy given him by the King of France. On the death of the King of Scotland, Arran assumed the government as next of kin to the crown, according to the national law, the post being tenable during the Queen's minority, with power to dispose of all the revenues of the country, and of everything else, without rendering any account; and although it was supposed that he would make a difficulty about resigning his trust, he nevertheless retired a few months ago, as Soranzo wrote to the Senate,* and the young Queen appointed as Regent her mother, the Queen Dowager Mary, sister of the Duke de Guise, and she is now in Scotland and rules it, the Queen Regnant being in France, the affianced wife of the Dauphin, she having been taken thither chiefly by the will and exertion (*industria*) of her mother, who well knew that many of the Scots were inclined to marry her to King Edward of England, as had been already promised him. The fortresses are all in the hands of the French or of the Queen Dowager, who being a Frenchwoman, it may be said that everything is in the power of his most Christian Majesty, who keeps some thousand infantry there as garrison, that force being sufficient, as in two days they can send over as many troops as they please.

Description of
Scotland.

The kingdom is almost all mountainous and marshy, and the climate very cold, so the soil produces but little grain or fruit, and no grapes, but abounds in fish and animals for the use of man, especially in sheep, which yield very fine wool, though but little of it is manufactured at home, it being exported for the most part to France and Denmark, from which countries they import such commodities as they stand most in need of. The kingdom is divided into twelve bishoprics, the chief of which is St. Andrews, and twelve counties, which are well peopled, as the Kings of Scotland have often brought armies of 30,000 men into the field, for the most part against their natural enemies, the English, because Scotland being very poor, and England plentifully supplied, the Scots have always invaded the country, carrying off great booty, this discord being fomented by France; and by donatives and privileges they have induced the French always to prefer the Scottish alliance to that of England. Part of these Scots are savages (*di questa gente ne sono parte de salvatici*), and those who are the most civilized either reside at the court or are on the borders of England. The Scots are rigid Catholics (*sono molto osservanti della Religione Cattolica*), nor is there public heresy of any sort amongst them. Such is the

* The letter has not been found.

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poverty of the county that the royal revenues do not amount to 100,000 ducats.

Wars of the
Roses.

The other three parts of the island are held by the most serene Queen of England, as they were by her predecessors, commencing with William the Conqueror; that is to say, from 1067 down to the present time, the Crown having always been in that descent, although there have been many wars, and especially those which originated with the sons of Edward III., the one, Duke of York, from whom the House of York sprang; and the other, Duke of Lancaster, who founded the Lancastrian family; the first bearing on their shield the white rose, the second the red. Finally, after much bloodshed, the Crown passing from one side to the other, and the male line of the then reigning King Edward IV. of the white rose, becoming extinct, there remaining only daughters, the eldest of them was given in marriage to Henry Earl of Richmond, the sole remaining heir of the red rose, who afterwards became Henry VII., grandfather of the present Queen; so these two families were again united, and her Majesty is thus the legitimate heir of both.*

Description of
England.

The air of England is thick (*l'aere di questo regno è grosso*), so it often generates clouds, wind, and rain, but in calm weather the climate is so temperate that the extremes of heat and cold are rarely felt, and never last long, so that persons clad in fur may be seen all the year round. They have some little plague in England well nigh every year, for which they are not accustomed to make sanitary provisions, as it does not usually make great progress; the cases for the most part occur amongst the lower classes, as if their dissolute mode of life (*il disordinato lor vivere*) impaired their constitutions; but in 1551, the first year of Soranzo's residence in England, there was an atmospheric putrescence (*una corruzione di aere*) which produced the disease called "the Sweat," which, according to general report, was never known in other countries, and only twice before in England, at intervals of upwards of 20 years; it commenced in Wales, and then traversed the whole kingdom, the mortality being immense amongst persons of every condition, save that children under 10 years of age did not seem subject to this epidemic (*questo influsso*). The malady was a most profuse sweat, which without any other indisposition seized patients by the way (*per via*), and the remedies at first administered taking no effect they died in a few hours, so that during the three first days of its appearance there died in London alone upwards of 5,000 persons,† but some remedy having been devised subsequently, it ceased in 20 days. The alarm, how-

The "Sweating
Sickness," 1551.

* Finalmente dopo molta effusione di sangue, et mutazione della corona ora in una, ora nell'altra parte, non essendo restata prole mascolina del Re Edoardo IV. (sic), che era della rosa bianca, la quale allora regnava, ma solamente femminile, la primogenita fu data per moglie al Conte Enrico de Richmond, restato solo erede della rosa rossa, il quale fu poi Enrico VII. avo di questa Regina, onde di nuovo si congiunsero queste due famiglie, e S.M. viene ad essere legittima erede dell'una et de l'altra."

† By a note to Machyn's Diary (Camden Society Publication), p. 319, it appears that in 1551, from the 7th to the 20th July, the deaths caused by "the sweat" were in number 938; but I do not know when the disease first showed itself in London in that year.

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Grain.

Process of
brewing.

Fish.

Pasturage.

ever was great and universal, especially at the courts [of the King and the Princesses and Anne of Cleves?], some of the King's chamber attendants having died, so that his Majesty and all who could made their escape, all business being suspended, the shops closed, and nothing attended to, but the preservation of life.

The soil, especially in England proper, produces wheat, oats, and barley, in such plenty that they have usually enough for their own consumption, but were they to work more diligently, and with greater skill, and bring the soil into higher cultivation, England might supply grain for exportation,* but they do not attend much to this, so that they sometimes need assistance both from Flanders and Denmark, and occasionally from France likewise. They grow no other sort of grain, and their only lentils† are beans and peas. Although they have vines they do not make wine of any sort, the plant serving as an ornament for their gardens rather than anything else, as the grapes do not ripen save in very small quantity, partly because the sun has not much power, and partly because precisely at the ripening season cold winds generally prevail, so that the grapes wither, but in lieu of wine they make beer, with wheat, barley, and hops, which [last?] they import from Flanders, boiling all the ingredients together in water, and making it stronger or weaker by adding more wheat and less barley, and producing a contrary result by reversing the process. This potion (*potione*) is most palatable to them, and all persons drink it, even their sovereigns, although they also consume a great quantity of wine, which is brought from Candia, Spain, the Rhine, and from France, this last being prized more than the rest, but it is sold at a very high price, so that it is usually worth from 36 to 40 ducats per butt, and in his (Soranzo's) time it cost as much as 50. As there are no olive trees in England they import oil from Spain and the Venetian possessions, but the consumption is small, as for food they mostly use butter, and for the cloth manufactures rape oil, which is imported from Flanders and Spain. They have great plenty of white salt at home, and the black is brought from Normandy, nor is there any salt duty. They have abundance of fish, both from the ocean and the Thames, of the same sort as is common in Venice, but they have also salmon, a fish not found in Italy. They have an immense quantity of oysters, so that occasionally as many as 20 smacks (*scute*) are seen filled with them, but during four months in the summer it is forbidden either to take or sell them.

The country is almost all level, with few rivers and springs, and such hills as they have are not very high, and one advantage of the climate is that the grass remains green at all seasons, affording excellent pasturage for animals, especially for sheep, of which there is an incredible number, supplying that wool which is in such

* In the "Annali Veneti" of Malipiero (pp. 710, 711) it is stated that in the year 1498 a Venetian vessel, bound from London to Venice, bought wheat at Calais (which was doubtless of English growth) at the rate of four shillings and six pence for 660 Venetian pounds weight avoirdupois, "a cinque stera al ducato." By the Statutes of the realm, A.D. 1492, it is shewn that four golden ducats amounted to 18 shillings, so the English bushel may be valued at four shillings and sixpence; each "ster" weighing 132 lbs.

† Legumi, pulse?

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Wool and hides.

universal repute under the name of "Frankish" (*Francesca*), the French having been the first to bring it into Italy. Great part of this wool is manufactured in England, where cloths and kerseys of various sorts are wrought, which amount annually to 150,000 pieces of cloths of all sorts, and 150,000 pieces of kersey, the rest of the wool being exported, and taken usually to Calais on account of the staplers, who then sell it on the spot, and have the monopoly of the wool exports from England, though occasionally export-permits are conceded by favour to other persons, though the staplers do their utmost to prevent it. The quantity of unwrought wool exported is said to amount to about 2,000 tons (4 *mille migliaia*) [annually]; they also export hides* to the value of 500,000 ducats.

Lead and tin.

In Cornwall they have lead and tin mines, from which they extract metal in great quantity, and of such good quality that the like is not to be found elsewhere. For some time they have not exported much lead because permits are refused, but they export annually from five to six thousand weight (*per 5^m in 6^m de grezi*) of unwrought tin, and to the value of 100,000 ducats in the wrought metal, the greater part to Spain.

Iron and coal.

In Derbyshire there are some iron mines, but in small quantity, but none of gold nor of silver.

In the north towards Scotland they find a certain sort of earth well nigh mineral, and which burns like charcoal, and is extensively used, especially by blacksmiths, and but for a certain bad odour which it leaves it would be yet more employed, as it gives great heat (*facendo gran satione*) and costs little.

Description of
London.

The principal cities of the kingdom are London and York, but London is the most noble, both on account of its being the royal residence, and because the river Thames runs through it, very much to the convenience and profit of the inhabitants, as it ebbs and flows every six hours like the sea, scarcely ever causing inundation or any extraordinary floods; and up to London Bridge it is navigable for ships of 400 butts burden, of which a great plenty arrive with every sort of merchandise. This bridge connects the city with the borough, and is built of stone with twenty arches, and shops on both sides. On the banks of the river there are many large palaces, making a very fine show, but the city is much disfigured by the ruins of a multitude of churches and monasteries belonging heretofore to friars and nuns. It has a dense population, said to number 180,000 souls; and is beyond measure commercial, the merchants of the entire kingdom flocking thither, as, by a privilege conceded to the citizens of London, from them alone can they purchase merchandise (*"altri che loro non possono comprare che essi cittadini"*), so they soon become very wealthy; and the same privileges placed in their hands the government of the city of London, which is divided into 24 trades (*arti*) or crafts (*mestieri*), each of which elects a certain individual, styled alderman, the election being made solely in the persons of those who are considered

* "Cuori." The literal translation of "*cuori*," or *cuojo*, is leather, but I suspect that in the 15th and 16th centuries the Venetians used the word *cuori* to signify hides, tanned or untanned.

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the most wealthy, and the office is for life; the which aldermen, after assembling these trades, create annually a person as their head for the current year entitled Mayor, and they call him Lord, which signifies *signor*; and he assumes the magistracy on the day of Saints Simon and Jude, on which day he goes to the court and swears allegiance to the King, and then gives a banquet to the ambassadors and lords, and to the judges of the city and others, in such number, that in one and the same hall upwards of a thousand persons sit down to table, all being served at the same time with the most perfect order. The Lord Mayor is always preceded by the sword in virtue of the privilege conceded to the city for its deserts in 1190 by King Richard the First. This mayor usually keeps a most excellent (*onoratissima*) table with open doors, and in one year spends at least 4000 ducats out of his own purse; and on the expiration of his office he is for the most part knighted. His chief charge is to superintend the victualling department, to legislate for the populace in minor suits, and to have care for the custody of the city by day and night, the keys of its gates being in his possession.

Description of
English men
and women.

The English for the most part are of handsome stature and sound constitution, with red or white complexions, their eyes also being white. According to their station they are all as well clad as any other nation whatever. The dress of the men resembles the Italian fashion, and that of the women the French.

The nobility.

The nobility are by nature very courteous, especially to foreigners, who however are treated with very great arrogance and enmity by the people, it seeming to them that the profit derived by the merchants from their country is so much taken from them, and they imagine that they could live without foreign intercourse. They are also by nature of little faith both towards their sovereigns and with each other, and are therefore very suspicious. The nobility, save such as are employed at Court, do not habitually reside in the cities, but in their own country mansions, where they keep up very grand establishments, both with regard to the great abundance of eatables consumed by them, as also by reason of their numerous attendants, in which they exceed all other nations, so that the Earl of Pembroke has upwards of 1,000 clad in his own livery. In these their country residences they occupy themselves with hunting of every description, and with whatever else can amuse or divert them; so that they seem wholly intent on leading a joyous existence, the women also being no less sociable than the men, it being customary for them and allowable to go without any regard (*rispetto*) either alone or accompanied by their husbands to the taverns, and to dine and sup where they please.

War and literature.

The English do not delight much either in military pursuits (*armi*) or literature, which last, most especially by the nobility, is not held in much account, and they have scarcely any opportunity for occupying themselves with the former, save in time of war, and when that is ended they think no more about them, but in battle they show great courage and great presence of mind (*prontezza*) in danger, but they require to be largely supplied with victuals; so it is evident that they cannot endure much fatigue.

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English Kings
to the Crown of
France.

Her Majesty's second title is Queen of France, and as the Crown has held it for a long while, I will not omit telling your Lordships how her predecessors became possessed of it. In 1303 King Edward II. (*sic*) married Isabel, daughter of Charles (*sic*)* the handsome King of France, who leaving no other heir than his daughter, King Edward sent an ambassador to France to demand possession of the kingdom which fell to him by inheritance; and this being denied in virtue solely of a law called "*Salic*," whereby to this day in France, females are excluded from the succession to the Crown, King Edward [III.] assembled Parliament, which declared him legitimate King of France, and for its recovery determined on war, which having lasted more than a century, Henry V., after obtaining many victories over the French, at length in 1419 espoused Catherine, daughter of Charles VI., King of France, on condition that after the death of her father, he and his descendants were to inherit the kingdom, the Dauphin Charles, the King's son, being deprived of it; but Henry V. dying before his father-in-law, his son Henry VI. went to Paris at the age of nine years, and was crowned King of France, as at home he had been already crowned King of England; but not long afterwards Charles the Dauphin aforesaid recovered the kingdom, in which nothing remains to the Kings of England but the title and the claim, and they now merely possess Calais and Guisnes, on the borders of Picardy, in the county of Artois, which two places are very strong, and most especially Calais, which besides having double walls and being very strong and close to the sea side, can at the flood tide inundate the whole of the surrounding country; and to dam the water there, they have made certain locks (*chiavi*), whereby to let it flow when necessary, with a fortress for their defence. These places are admirably garrisoned by a good number of horse and foot, and also well supplied with everything necessary, as becoming, the English having no other places than these beyond sea, so that were they to lose them they would no longer be able to cross the Channel as they do at present, for from Dover to Calais, which are the usual passage ports, the distance is but thirty miles.

Calais and
Guisnes.Account of
Ireland.

Her Majesty's third title is Queen of Ireland, of which the English Crown has possessed a part from 1171 down to the present time, as Henry II. having prepared a very powerful fleet for the invasion of the island, the greater part of those who held it surrendered themselves to him, they being then all savages, and made the surrender on the condition that it was to be deemed valid when confirmed by the Pope, whom they said they acknowledged as their sole superior. His Holiness ratified the surrender, because the island not being well instructed in matters relating to the Christian religion, he thought it might in this way be better disciplined. This island is not more than 30 (*sic*) miles distant from England. Its length from north to south is 300 miles, and its breadth 90.

* Edward II. came to the throne in 1307, having married Isabel of France, daughter of Philip the handsome, in 1303, when Prince of Wales. Charles the handsome, son of Philip, died childless on the 31st January 1328, and subsequently Edward III. (his father Edward II. having died in 1327) claimed the French Crown in right of his mother. (See Hume, History of England, vol. ii. p. 170, edition London 1762.)

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The Irish.

O'Neil.

Title of De-
fender of the
Faith.

The climate of Ireland is very temperate, and its soil would be productive if better cultivated. In many respects it very much resembles England, save that it is rather more hilly, and abounds more in springs (*fonti*). It is said to produce no venomous animals, and that any taken thither would not live. There are large flocks of sheep there, and other animals for the use of man, so that it yields a good quantity of wool and many hides (*cuori*). The wool is not so fine as that of England. The men for the most part are still in great part wild (*selvaggi*) [savages]; but those subject to the English are generally more civilised, and by degrees adapt themselves more and more to the mode of life in England. The wild Irish (*li selvaggi*) generally go barefoot both summer and winter, and clothe themselves in a long linen shirt, dyed in saffron; this garment (which they rarely change, wearing it for the most part until in tatters) reaches the ground, and over it they wear a coarse cloth mantle; the women also clothe themselves in like manner; and although they acknowledge the distinction between noble and plebeian, yet do all classes dress alike. They inhabit their country houses, and eat under-done meat (*carne sanguinosa*), roasted on a long spit, or boiled in an ox-hide, seasoned according to their own fashion. They are naturally very religious and Catholic, so that in the time of King Edward there were several rebellions, which although suppressed at the time have again broken out; and the majority of the population refuse obedience to the Queen, and govern themselves under a chieftain called the Great O'Neil, whom they talk of making their king. The principal towns, the chief of which is Dublin, remain in the hands of the Queen, but the country has almost entirely rebelled, and last winter, when some troops were sent for its recovery, they failed completely. Since then nothing more has been done, save that the government is endeavouring to bring them back to their allegiance by negotiation, and by so much the more as without a preponderating force coercion would be vain, as the Irish are a very warlike race, who set but little value on their lives; and when they take the field the cavalry wear shirts of mail, and the infantry raise their linen garment up to the waist (*sino alla cintura*), fastening their shirt sleeves at the shoulder, and carry two or three javelins (*dardi*), which they hurl wonderfully, and they are also girt some with a sword and others with a hatchet. The Queen has a Viceroy there, who has his court at Dublin, with a good number of horse and foot, besides a few armed ships as circumstances may require.

Her Majesty is also Defendress (*Difensora*) of the Faith, which title her father had from Pope Leo X., because in 1521, his Majesty having composed a very Catholic book in explanation (*in dichiarazione*) of the sacraments,* and in defence of the Catholic religion, against Martin Luther, he sent it to his Holiness, who having had it read in Consistory, and approving of it greatly, it was determined

* The Latin title is "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum." Leo X. is said to have called it "Heaven's Diamond" (Diamante del Cielo).

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Garter.

to give his Majesty and his successors the aforesaid title, as was done.

Nor here will I omit telling also of the Order of the Garter, of which the Kings of England are entitled Grand Masters (*Sorranì*). This is an order of knighthood such as the Emperor's "Golden Fleece" for the House of Burgundy, and the French King's "St. Michael." The Order of the Garter was instituted in 1350 by King Edward III., owing to the following circumstance:—Whilst dancing with a lady his mistress, one of her leg-bands called in English "*Garter*" fell to the ground, and the King himself picked it up to give it her, which causing a general laugh, and confusion to the lady, the King girt it round his own leg, saying that he would make that band, or one like it, the most honourable thing in his kingdom; and thus did he institute this order of knighthood, under the patronage of St. George, the knights to be in number 25, besides the King, their Grand Master; the regulation being, that round the neck they were to wear a St. George on horseback in armour, and on the left leg below the knee a riband with a golden buckle, inscribed with a French motto, thus, "*Oni soit qui mal pense*," signifying in Italian "*Shame to evil thinkers*" (*vituperato sia chi mal pensa*), which all the knights observe inviolably. The ceremony of the Order is performed annually on St. George's day, and for the most part at Windsor Castle, 20 miles from London, where there is a most beautiful church (*chiesa*) built for this purpose, in which the arms of all the knights are placed, they on that occasion appearing in the robes of the Order, namely, a blue mantle lined with white satin, with a crimson velvet hood on the right shoulder, and on the left they wear a garter embroidered circularly, with a red cross in its centre; and under the mantle they wear a vest (*una sottana*) of crimson velvet; and a rapier at their side; and round the neck the grand emblem (*l'ordine grande*) in gold, with the St. George pendent. The names of these knights are as follows:—The Grand Master, who is the most Serene Prince of Spain, now King of England and Consort of the Queen; the Emperor, the King of France, the King of the Romans, the Duke of Montmorency, Grand Constable of France, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Sussex, Lord Wilton, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Earl of Hertford, Lord Clinton, Lord Darcy, Lord Cobham, the Lord Warden?, (*Lord Guardori*), Lord La Warr, Lord Paget, the Lord High Chamberlain (Earl of Oxford), Sir Anthony St. Leger; and there are two vacancies. Besides these Knights, there is also a Bishop, styled "*the Prelate of the Garter*," who is always the incumbent of the See of Winchester, and wears on his finger a ring bearing the same motto, and a buckle such as the knights wear on the leg.

From her whole realm of England, as seen heretofore, the Queen might easily raise 100,000 men, taking at the muster those deemed fit for military service, and who would perform it spontaneously; but in case of war, it is not the custom to enroll every sort of person present at the muster, and from every district, but [merely] those nearest the scene of action. Besides this mode of enrolment, it is

Military re-
sources.

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usual to order noblemen (*signori*) to collect such an amount of troops as required, which is done when the Crown does not trust everybody; and the third mode of mustering forces—in case of foreign invasion, or some sudden insurrection of the natives—is to place a light on the top of certain huge lanterns (*lanternoni*) fixed on heights in all the villages (*in tutte le ville*), on appearance of which signal anywhere, all the neighbouring places do the like, and the forces muster at the first sight, so in a short time the general muster is made, the remedy and assistance proving alike efficient.

Weapons.

From the musters aforesaid some 15,000 horse might be raised, but the native English horse is not good for war, and they have not many foreign horses. The weapons used by the English are a spear, and not having much opportunity for providing themselves with body-armour, they wear, for the most part, breast-plates, with shirts of mail, and a skull cap (*mezza testa*), and sword. The rest would be footmen, of which they have four sorts: the first, which in number and valour far excels the others, consists of archers, in whom the sinew of their armies consists, all the English being as it were by nature most expert bowmen, inasmuch as not only do they practise archery for their pleasure, but also to enable them to serve their King, so that they have often secured victory for the armies of England. The second sort consists of infantry (*è dei fanti*), who carry a sort of bill; and there are some of these likewise who would make good soldiers. The other two sorts are harquebusiers and pikemen, of which weapons they have very little experience.

Archers.

Employment of
German troops.

The Crown has occasionally subsidized German troops, taking them for the most part from the sea towns, from which they have sometimes had as many as 10,000, and to continue these engagements they gave 2,000 ducats pension to a German colonel, by name Curtprenich (*sic*), who has many adherents, and resides at Hamburg. About four years ago it was determined to raise a cavalry force of 1,000 men-at-arms in the French fashion, but after keeping them for a year, at a cost to the King of 80,000 crowns, they were disbanded, it having been found impossible to make the plan answer. They have no commanders of note in their pay, either English or foreign, but merely give a few pensions to some who served them on former occasions; and as to the affairs of the militia, they being regulated as in other countries, it is unnecessary to allude to them.

Naval forces.

Her Majesty's naval forces also are very considerable, as she has great plenty of English sailors, who are considered excellent for the navigation of the Atlantic (*del mare oceano*), and an abundance of timber for ship-building, as they do not use galleys, owing to the strong tide in the ocean.* Were her Majesty to take the vessels of ship-owners in all parts of the kingdom, the number would be immense; but she has only 80 of her own, including some galleons; and whenever she pleased, she could very easily obtain

* Potendosi con molta difficoltà navigare, per la gran forza del mare oceano.

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upwards of 150* from private individuals, but small, as in those parts but few large ships are seen, and they say that those of 400 butts and under, sail better than the larger ones. The head of the naval affairs is the Admiral, he being one of the Lords of the Council, who, when a numerous fleet is fitted out, puts to sea in person, as he did this year, when he went out with 30 sail to secure the sea, and convey the most serene Prince of Spain on his coming; but when there is no such need, a Vice-admiral takes the command.

Want of com-
manders-in-
chief.

The most important deficiency in the great naval and military forces of England, is, that in the whole realm they have no persons, neither sailor nor soldier, capable of commanding either fleet or army. The only man they had was the Duke of Northumberland, who by his bravery distinguished himself in both capacities, and from the grade of a private gentleman (his father indeed was beheaded for treason by Henry VIII.) rose step by step through his abilities to the eminent position at length attained by him; but in like manner as the punishment of his rashness was well merited, so must the friends of England lament the loss of all his qualities with that single exception (*così quelli che amavano quel regno desiderano ch'el fusse stato quello ch'el era in tutte l'altre parti, fuorchè in quella*).

Artillery.

Her Majesty has a great quantity of very fine artillery, both in the fortresses beyond sea, as well as in many places within the realm, and especially at the Tower of London, where the ammunition of every sort is preserved.

Revenues of the
Crown.

Her Majesty's revenues from property belonging to the Crown itself, including that of the church which has been annexed to it, amounts to about a million of ducats, thus:—

The Crown of England, comprising the Duchy of Lancaster, and other sorts of property which have come to it, namely, lands, houses, and the like, derives annually - - - Ducats 300,000

The duties, which they call "*customs*," yield - - - 160,000
which shows very clearly how much her Majesty is defrauded by not farming them, instead of having them collected for her own account, as those who have the management of them take the opportunity of enriching themselves and assisting their friends.

From the Exchequer, whither contraband goods are taken, and where they receive the rents of confiscated estates, and other extraordinary revenues (*et altri straordinarij*) - Ducats 100,000

From the kingdom of Ireland—when pacific - - - 30,000

Wardships.

From the wardship of minors [Court of Wards] for estates held by them in fee from the Crown - - - Ducats 60,000
which tax, intolerable for the subject, and now of no great advantage to the Crown, originated thus:—

Their origin.

In the year 1270, Henry III., wishing to go for the recovery of the Holy Land, and being very poor, it was conceded him in aid that all persons holding estates in fee from the Crown, and leaving heirs male under 21 years of age, or females under 24, their estates, until they arrived at that age, were to belong to the Crown,

* In the Correr MS. the number is 150; but 250 in the Lazzari-Weovich copy.

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(Aug. 18.)Abuses of the
system of ward-
ships.

and to be restored to the heirs when they attained their majority, his Majesty in the meanwhile being bound to have them in ward (*nella sua guardia*), taking care to have them reared and educated, according to the condition of their parents; nor could they even marry without the King's licence. At the commencement, this ordinance was very lucrative for the kings, and no less advantageous for the subjects, who, being well brought up, and on receiving their estates, finding them improved and augmented, had everything they desired. Subsequently, however, having commenced giving these wardships (*queste guardie*) to private individuals for good services rendered by them to the Crown, with the same conditions as observed by the kings, it being also customary to sell them, not only are the profits of the Crown reduced to little, but the estates of the wards in like manner go to ruin, as they are not only neglected by the private individuals who have them in charge, and care for nothing but their own advantage, omitting also such care as due for the education of the wards, who thus degenerate; but they, moreover, sell them licences to marry, patricians and plebeians thus intermarrying, which is most evidently injurious, especially because it debases the nobility. This dependency (*obligazione*) of minors is not only enforced with regard to those who hold Crown property, but has also been adopted of late by private individuals respecting their own estates, when they have to dispose of them (*quando ne hanno a far dispensazione*).

First fruits and
tenths.

There are also revenues of two sorts derived by the Crown from church property, one called the "first fruits" (*le primizie*), which is an annat levied by the Crown, time out of mind, on all vacant benefices; in addition to which, there is a tenth on church lands, which, whether held by prelates, or sold, or exchanged, all pay this tenth; from all which the Queen is supposed to derive

Ducats 300,000.

Monastic
revenues.

The remaining ecclesiastical revenue was obtained by Henry VIII., who, at the persuasion of Cromwell, then supreme ruler in England, having resolved no longer to have friars or nuns in his kingdom, not only expelled them, but ordered the destruction of all their monasteries and abbeys, which throughout the realm were in number 2,052, together with the greater part of the hospitals, colleges, and other pious institutions, scarcely anything but the parish churches remaining above ground, all which revenues he annexed to the Crown; and in order that every record or claim possessed by these institutions thus destroyed might perish eternally, all the deeds (*scrittura*) relating to these monasteries were burned. From this property the King obtained a revenue amounting to 566,000 ducats; but his expenses increasing with his means, he and his son, King Edward, sold so much of this property as yielded 260,000 ducats annual rental, and the two together gave away as much more as amounted to 300,000 ducats per annum; so that from this source there remains to the Crown but from 50 to 60 thousand ducats annual revenue.

Church goods.

King Henry also determined to despoil all the churches of their moveables, thus obtaining five millions of gold; and if any of this property remained after his death, it was taken during the protectorate of the Duke of Northumberland.

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Mode of levying
subsidies.

As the revenues in ordinary do not suffice for the exigencies of war and other necessary expenditure, it is therefore requisite to make extraordinary provision, and impose taxes. I will merely mention the mode employed of late, leaving aside what was done of yore; and it is a tax called "*subsidy*," laid on the people at her Majesty's request, by Act of Parliament, and which is levied thus:—Commissioners (*deputati*), both in the cities and towns (*ville*), summon all the inhabitants, parish by parish, and in the King's name, charge them under oath to declare truly the amount of their capital, for which he is made debtor, and taxed at the rate of a penny (*soldo*) in the pound, if an Englishman; twopence if an alien; and four if a churchman, this sum forming one subsidy; and when voted, it becomes payable within the year. If, when the amount of the capitals is declared, the commissioners suspect any fraud, they can compel the suspected person to produce his [account] books; and should they detect any error, they are authorized to punish him; but, notwithstanding all this, means are found to conceal the truth; nor do they even administer the oath; so the Crown is grossly defrauded, a subsidy not yielding more than 200,000 ducats, of which the City of London alone pays 50,000.

Loans.

The Kings are also accustomed to raise loans (*di accomodarsi*) through the merchants in Flanders, at the rate of upwards of 14 per cent., and the Queen is understood to be debtor to them for more than a million of gold.

Debasement of
the coinage by
Henry VIII.
and Edward VI.

I will not omit to mention a mode adopted by Henry VIII. to raise money, which in like manner as it well nigh ruined the country, so did it bring great infamy upon himself. This was, that he debased the coin of the realm by one fourth, and after his death the councillors who ruled King Edward, availing themselves of this bad example, debased it to such an extent that although on two occasions in 1551 they lowered the moneys 18 per cent.,* they nevertheless still remained of very low standard (*molto triste*). Had this loss for the realm, however, proved beneficial to the King it would have been more bearable; but the great personages (*li signori*) having agreed together had a coinage for their own personal benefit, and not satisfied with this, as their rents were paid them in this base coin, they commenced raising their "leases," which they call "farms" (*ferme*), with the intention of bringing them to a level with the depreciation of the coinage, but being without discretion even in this they exceeded that limit, which caused it subsequently to come to pass that the farmers knowing what a sorry plight they would be in unless they also sold their produce at equivalent prices, they commenced raising them, and being no less covetous than their landlords beef, and veal rose to 9*d.* and 10*d.* per lb., wheat to five ducats (*sic*) [22*s.* 6*d.*] per *stajo*,† and every

The consequent
rise of prices.

* There was a proclamation dated in June 1551, but without a day of the month, for reducing immediately the value of the teston or shilling to 9*d.* and the groat to 3*d.* (See Domestic Calendar, Edward VI., p. 33.)

† As already stated, the *stajo* weighed but 132 lbs., so I suspect that in the present instance *stajo* must mean an English bushel, as in 1498 the *stajo* cost one-fifth of a ducat.

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dissolution of
the monasteries.

thing else in proportion, and even this might have been borne, had the commodities been procurable (*e se ne avesse potuto avere, ancora si avrebbe potuto sopportare*); but although by the reduction of the money aforesaid and by other acts passed moreover by the Parliament, they endeavoured to apply a remedy, yet they were unable to make such provision as necessary; nor will they ever succeed, until the farms are reduced, and even then it is not supposed that the plentiful supply of good food can again prevail, owing to the destruction of the monasteries, which from many causes produced this abundance, above all by cultivating much more land than is now under the plough (*facendo lavorare molte più terre che non si fa al presente*); and besides the great amount of alms distributed by them, they gave ample employment to numbers of persons, whereas at present not only are no alms given, but the proprietors of the land, finding it more profitable to leave it for pasturage, instead of cultivating it, have deprived many, of the means of subsistence.

Her Majesty's ordinary expenditure amounts to 830,000 ducats; and first of all I will tell of her principal ministers.

Officers of state.

The first of them is the Lord Steward of the Kingdom (Henry Fitz-Alan, 21st Earl of Arundel), President of the Council, in which, all matters are proposed by him; and as Lord Steward, it is his office, when the Queen dines in state, to place the viands on the table and to present the napkin when she washes her hands. Next comes the Marquis of Winchester (William Paulet), Lord Treasurer, who has to overlook all the ministers who handle the public money, and to decide any questions arising thence; and when the Lord Steward performs his office with Her Majesty, he in like manner holds the basin when she washes her hands. The third personage is the Lord Great Chamberlain, Earl of Oxford (John De Vere, 16th Earl), whose business it is to accompany the Queen wherever she goes; and to convoke the Peers to Parliament; and on state occasions to pour the water over the Queen's hands, and to make the assay of the viands. The fourth personage is the Chamberlain of the Household (William Lord Howard of Effingham), who is the principal person in Her Majesty's Chamber, and has care and guard of the upper floor of the house, as the Vice-Chamberlain has of the lower floor, and he is moreover the head of all the gentlemen in Her Majesty's service. Then comes the Treasurer of the Household; and next the Comptroller (Sir Robert Rochester), whose care it is to inspect the accounts, and the administration of the money expended for the household. Besides these, there is the Grand Equerry (*Gran Scudiere*), who is the head of Her Majesty's stable (Anthony Brown Viscount Montagu, Master of the Horse); and there is also one who keeps the Privy Seal (William Lord Paget); all of whom, and many others their dependents, receive stipend.

The Queen's
Guard.

Besides these, there is Her Majesty's Guard, consisting of 50 gentlemen, all English, who carry a weapon called an axe (*un'arma chiamata asta*), each of them receiving 200 crowns pension; besides 150 archers, who have 150 crowns each.

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The Queen's
expenditure.

For all these pensions and costs, and for other officials throughout the realm, Her Majesty spends annually - Ducats 200,000

For the board of Her Majesty's entire Household, for which 22 upper tables are usually kept, besides the lower ones Ducats 180,000

To the Lady Elizabeth, Her Majesty's sister are given

Ducats 10,000

To the Lady Anne of Cleves, heretofore repudiated by King Henry VIII. - Ducats 10,000

And Her Majesty, before coming to the Crown, had the same allowance.

For the costs of Infantry and Fortresses in Ireland, in England, and in the places beyond sea - Ducats 130,000

For the Tower of London - Ducats 10,000

For pensions and provision extraordinary both to Englishmen and foreigners - Ducats 100,000

For provision for abbots, priors, and other ecclesiastics deprived of their revenues - Ducats 40,000

For provision given, to keep Her Majesty's palaces in good repair, they being in immense number - Ducats 10,000

For costs of the Arsenal, including powder, artillery, and other necessities - Ducats 20,000

Ship-money.

For the cost of ten armed ships, which from year to year are kept at sea for the protection of merchandise against corsairs, the Queen being bound to incur it, as for this purpose she levies a duty called "the subsidy" (*il sussidio*) - Ducats 100,000

Insufficiency of
the revenue.

The revenues, therefore, amounting to about a million of gold, and the expenditure being 828,000 (*sic*) [810,000], Her Majesty would have a surplus of about 170,000 ducats, but from the research used by me, I understood that the revenues do not suffice for the expenditure, partly because, as usual everywhere, it is impossible to levy all the taxes, and in part owing to the mal-administration of the money; to such an extent, that since a long while stipendiaries receive barely half their pay; and the costs of the Coronation, and of the outfit of the 30 ships which put to sea this year for the coming of the Prince of Spain, were defrayed by a loan, for which the merchants in Flanders contracted at exorbitant interest.

Parliament.

It remains for me to tell of the mode in which the Realm is governed; and first of all, I will speak of its foundation and first element (*principio*), which is the Parliament-general of the Kingdom. It is convoked at the King's pleasure, and on one part, its members are all the Peers of the Realm and the Bishops. Heretofore, the Abbots also attended it, but as they no longer exist, since the destruction of the monasteries, it is held without them; and when this congregation is assembled, it is called "the Upper House" (*la Casa di Sopra*). On the other part, in the so-called "Lower House" (*Casa Bassa*), the assembly of the people meets; every city and castle, and all the counties likewise, each sending two members thither, amounting in all to 300 persons, they remaining in place as long as a Parliament lasts; and when a new Parliament is needed after a dissolution, the cities, castles, and counties make a new

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election. The members of the Upper House, on the contrary, are always the same, and the chief personages (*li Signori*) now sitting there are in number 18; namely, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Derby, Devon, Westmoreland, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Sussex, Wilton (Grey), Bath, Southampton, Bedford, Pembroke, and the Viscount of Hertford; besides whom, there are about 50 individuals who have the title of "Lord." It must be borne in mind that these Lords (*questi Signori*) have nothing but the title given them by the King as an act of grace, or for merit, for themselves and their descendants; nor have they any authority or jurisdiction in ordinary, save such as is conceded them by their Sovereign, which is for the most part temporary; though it is true that when the title of Duke is conferred on any one, they also provide him with revenues for the maintenance of his grade, which requires at least 10,000 crowns; doing the like by the Marquises, Earls, and all the others according to their station. All the Bishops of the Kingdom sit in the Upper House, in number 22 (*sic*), including the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops being London, Durham, Winchester, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Ely, Coventry and Lichfield, Norwich, Salisbury, St. David's, Llandaff, Carlisle, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Peterborough, Chichester, Lincoln, and Rochester.

Manner of
holding Parlia-
ment.

On the day of the opening of Parliament, all the Lords of the Upper House robe in certain scarlet gowns, lined with ermine of various sorts (*foderato d'armellini differenti*) according to their grade; the Bishops also with their scarlet capes (*cappe*) in like manner; Her Majesty also being present in the Royal habits, without the Crown; and they go all together to the Church, where a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost is sung; after which, Her Majesty takes her seat in the place prepared for her in Parliament, and there, the members of both Houses being present, the Lord Chancellor, who at present is the Bishop of Winchester, makes a speech about what is to be treated in Parliament; though for the most part he says in general terms, that matters will be treated relating to the welfare of the Kingdom. Next day the Lower House assembles, and elects a Proctor and Advocate (*un Procuratore e Avvocato*), entitled "*The Speaker*," and then the King returns to Parliament to hear him, he also making a speech in common and general terms. Then the two Houses commence assembling apart, each member being at liberty to present such suggestions (*ricordi*) as seem advantageous to him, in writing, and they are given to the clerks (*alli notari*), who register them, after which they are discussed three times, not on three consecutive days immediately, but after an interval of time. When about to pass any Act, the House is asked whether the proposal has its approval, each member answering aloud "Aye," or "No," and when the opinion of the majority is clearly known, it is adopted (*deliberata*); but when many are heard to say "Aye, aye," or "No, no," so that the opinion seems doubtful, the "Ayes" are told to move to one side, and the "Noes" to remain in their places; and both sides being counted, the greater number

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conquers; and immediately after the resolve is made in either house, it is forthwith communicated to the other, there to be debated in like manner; and if not annulled, but confirmed, it is kept until Parliament ends, being presented to the King on the last day when His Majesty returns to close the Parliament; and such of its resolves as he thinks it fit to approve he signs with his own hand, and of those disapproved by him he says in French "*Le Roy s'avisera*," so that before a resolve can become a conclusive act it must pass the two houses, and be then signed by the King's hand. I will not particularize all the errors committed through this mode of deliberating by word of mouth, but shall merely remark that each member having to state his opinion openly it comes to pass that from fear they are often compelled to vote (*a deliberare*) what they know to be the will of those who rule them, rather than according to the dictates of their own conscience, so it is clearly manifest that there is no longer the liberty there used to be*; and since a certain period, in order yet more to restrict that liberty in the Lower House, whose members are elected, it is contrived that none be returned, save such as conform to the will of the Crown, as was clearly seen when treating the matters of religion, about which so many contradictory statutes were enacted, the persons elected, whether of one sort or the other, always voting with the government, that not only did the Parliament lose much of its authority with the people, but by so many variations and changes, they reduced the country to such a state as well nigh not to know what to believe, nor on what to base their faith; and if by means of this most serene Queen, and the Bishop of Winchester, the Almighty had not shed his light whereby they might return to the truth, no greater confusion could have been witnessed anywhere than would have been seen in England, by reason of the endless variety of heresies which swarm there (*pullulando la diversità delle eresie senza fine*).

Contradictory
enactments
touching reli-
gion.

The Reforma-
tion.

Concerning this matter I will not omit saying what the heresy was in the time of King Edward. It consisted in three chief articles, namely, in the total alienation from the Pope and the Roman Church; in the diversity of ceremonies; and in denying that in the sacrament of the altar there was the real body of the Son of God. With regard to the separation (*alienazione*) from the church, having mentioned above the mode in which it was effected, and the cause, I will merely add that they would not acknowledge either "pardons" or "indulgences," denying the [doctrine of] free will, and purgatory, and every other opinion maintained in these matters by the holy church. The ceremonies also were well nigh entirely changed, the mode of reciting the divine service (*gli uffici divini*) according to the Roman ritual being suppressed, as also the mass, or else it was performed in another manner, and in the English tongue. They likewise suppressed all the festivals of the Saints, save such as are mentioned in the New Testament. They moreover enacted that the priests were not to wear sacerdotal orna-

* Onde chiaramente si conosce che non vi è più quella libertà che solea esservi.

company, and immediately after the resolve is made in either house, it is forthwith communicated to the other house to be debated in like manner; and it not amended, but continued, it is kept until Parliament ends being presented to the King on the last day when His Majesty returns to them the Parliament; and such of its resolves as he thinks fit to approve he signs with his own hand, and of those disapproved by him he says in French "Ne l'ayez pas", so that before a resolve can become a statute, not only must it pass both the two houses, and be then signed by the King's hand. I will not participate in the errors committed through this mode of deliberating by word of mouth, but shall merely remark that each member having to state his opinion openly it comes to pass that those few who are often compelled to vote (a dislike was) what they know to be the will of those who rule them rather than according to the dictates of their own conscience, so it is clearly manifest that there is no longer the liberty there used to be; and since a certain period, in order yet more to restrict that liberty in the Lower House, whose members are elected, it is contended that none be returned, save such as conform to the will of the Crown, as was clearly seen when treating the matter of religion, about which so many contradictory statutes were enacted, the persons elected, whether of our sect or the other, always voting with the government, that not only did the Parliament lose much of its authority with the people, but by so many variations and changes, they reduced the country to such a state as well nigh not to know what to believe, nor on what to base their faith; and it by means of this most cruel Queen, and the Bishop of Winchester, the Almighty had not shed his light whereby they might return to the truth, no greater confusion could have been witnessed any where than would have been seen in England, by reason of the endless variety of heresies which various kings (especially in Elizabeth's days) ever sowed.

Concerning this matter I will not omit saying what the history was in the time of King Edward. It consisted in three chief articles, namely, in the total alienation from the Pope and the Roman Church; in the diversity of ceremonies; and in denying that in the sacrament of the altar there was the real body of the Son of God. With regard to the separation (schism) from the church, having mentioned above the mode in which it was effected, and the cause, I will merely add that they would not acknowledge either "pardon" or "indulgence", denying the [absolution of] sins will and purgatory, and every other opinion maintained in those matters by the holy church. The ceremonies also were well nigh entirely changed, the mode of reading the divine service (all rights denied) according to the Roman ritual being suppressed, as also the mass, or else it was performed in another manner, and in the English tongue. They likewise suppressed all the festivals of the Saints save such as are mentioned in the New Testament. They moreover enacted that the priests were not to wear sacerdotal ornaments.

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Continuity
existing
touching
this
point.

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tion.

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ments (*paramenti*) of any sort, but merely the white surplice (*cotta*), and they also removed all the images of the Saints, and the altars, leaving the churches all bare and whitewashed, with the Royal Arms in the front of the church, surrounded by passages from Scripture. They allowed the priests to marry, and also to bequeath their property to their children, but not the benefices, the presentation of which belonged to the King alone, it not being customary to make renunciation of them in any way. In case of adultery they also granted divorce, which gave rise to endless irregularities and confusion. They suppressed every sort of light in the churches, as also the holy water and the holy oil, considering them superfluous; the commemorations of the saints, and the prayers for the dead being in like manner abolished, though they ordained the observance of the Eves, the four Ember weeks, and Lent; and moreover exhorted everybody to make auricular confession to the priest, but not by precept, and they called it counsel, and satisfaction of conscience (*conseiglio et soddisfazione della coscienza*).

With regard to the Communion, they ordered all persons to take it at least three times in the year, but not in the manner observed by the [Roman] Church; nor did they believe in the real presence (*nè credevano che vi fusse il vero Corpo di Cristo*), but merely a sacramental efficacy (*virtù*), in commemoration of the supper and passion of our Lord; and they celebrated it thus: In the place where the choir used to be they had a table, covered with the cloth, on which they put common bread and wine, making the communicants kneel round it; and after recital by the priest of a number of prayers, he took a mouthful of the bread for himself, and drank some of the wine, making the communicants do the like; and this they called Communion, *sub utraque specie*; and in the act of giving the bread, the priest said, "*Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and eat of this Christ in thy heart through faith, with thanksgiving*;" and then, when giving the wine, they said, "*Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful*."*

Restoration of
the Roman
Catholic reli-
gion.

On the accession of Queen Mary, immediately on arriving in London, she had the mass performed, and the first Parliament restored all the ancient ceremonies and the doctrine of the sacrament (*insieme con la opinione del sacramento*), and everything else, in accordance with the custom of the Roman Church, so that in this brief period such progress has been made that the mass and divine service are performed in all the churches, and attended by a good number of persons. Though the majority of the population is perhaps dissatisfied, yet may it be hoped that the Almighty will support her Majesty's good intentions. Nothing remains for adjustment with the Roman Church, save the obedience to the Church, which the Parliament has not hitherto confirmed, but will doubtless give its assent,

* "E dando il pane dicevano, *Piglia et mangia questo in commemorazione che Cristo è morto per te et mangia di esso Cristo nel tuo cuore per fede con azioni di grazie*. Dando poi il vino, dicevano: *Bevi questo in commemorazione che il sangue di Cristo fu sparso per te et sù grato*."

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Question as to
Church prop-
erty.

provided the church property already distributed by the crown, remain in the hands of its present possessors, as having been given, sold, and exchanged, for so long a while, it can scarcely be supposed that the present possessors would restore it; and indeed it would be almost impossible by reason of the endless law-suits which would ensue; nor is it the Queen's intention to renounce the church property, of which she lately sold some, of considerable value, although she is quite bent on the union. This is proved by her negotiations with Dom. Francesco Commendone, the Pope's chamber attendant, who, being at the Emperor's court as datary to the Cardinal Legate Dandino, introduced himself through Marc' Antonio Da Mula, Venetian ambassador with his Imperial Majesty, to him (Soranzo), to whom he announced the Cardinal's wish that he should be presented to the Queen to offer her (*per offerirle*) the Pope's goodwill, and that he (Soranzo) should give him information about the state of the religion, Commendone telling him that at Rome they knew little or nothing about it. Therefore, considering the benefit of Christendom and how much the Signory would be gratified by the increase of the Catholic religion, did not fail to give Commendone full information about all he required, and by means of an intimate friend, deep in the Queen's confidence (*confidentissimo di sua Maestà*), contrived to have him introduced by night to speak to her Majesty, to whom he announced the Pope's goodwill. She evinced satisfaction at the performance of this office, and made answer that she had always been inclined to live according to the religion in which she was born, and that thus did she desire to continue, so that she did not believe she had incurred any ecclesiastical censure, having never consented to the things which took place against the religion, but that nevertheless to put her mind more at ease she moreover wished for absolution from the Pope, not only for herself but also for the whole kingdom; though as everything was still so unsettled that the publication of her demand might seriously injure the affairs of the kingdom, and perhaps endanger her life, she charged him to communicate this her wish solely to him (Soranzo), and then beyond the Channel to his Cardinal Dandino and to Cardinal Pole, proceeding subsequently straight to Rome, there to kiss the Pope's feet in her Majesty's name, and to make this request, as he did; but at Rome the secret was not kept as it ought to have been, and the Pope conceded the absolution to her Majesty and all those who were heartily disposed to resume their obedience to the Roman church.

Secret interview
between Queen
Mary and a
Papal agent.

Laws.

The laws whereby the kingdom is governed are not common, but peculiar to the realm, having been enacted from time to time by Parliament; and without saying how causes are treated in detail, it will suffice to mention the mode of judging, which is well nigh alike both in civil and criminal causes; for in civil actions, after both parties have given sufficient evidence before the ordinary judges, the causes are referred for final despatch to the judgment of 12 men not elected, but drawn by lot from persons of any condition whatever, they being taken first from one parish and then from another, so that the whole city participates in the appointment; 12 indi-

Trial by jury.

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viduals being appointed for each cause, in such wise that when the suit ends the authority of the 12 who judged it ends likewise; and if the suit is between two Englishmen, all the judges are English, and if between an Englishman and a foreigner, they draw six Englishmen and six foreigners. After having heard the cause these judges are shut up in a place, from which they cannot come out, they remaining without food or liquor until they all 12 unanimously give the sentence, which is afterwards carried to the judges in ordinary, who then despatch it formally (*in forma*). The like is done in criminal causes, though the judges are not elected by chance, but they take accidentally (*a caso*) such persons as proved to have been nearest at hand when the fact occurred, they apparently being best able to know about it. The process being drawn up, the delinquent presents himself before the above-mentioned judges, he being at liberty to reject them, on assigning legitimate reasons, and they are replaced by others, to whom no objection is made; whereupon the delinquent either confesses the crime laid to his charge, or defends himself personally, without any barrister or counsel (*senza altro avvocato o consultore*); and having closed his defence, the 12 individuals aforesaid shut themselves up together, and with the same forms as in civil causes, announce the sentence to the judges in ordinary, who despatch it in form, it not being the custom either to mutilate any member, or to send into exile, but to acquit or condemn to death. To say how defective and reprehensible this mode of trial is seems to me unnecessary, so I will merely observe that one of these 12 judges being better able than his fellows to withstand hunger and other inconveniences, has been the cause of the death of a person under trial, although the others wished to acquit him.

Appeals.

The appeals against sentences, both civil and criminal, are decided in the place where Her Majesty resides, certain courts of judges appointed for this purpose assembling four times a year (called terms), for each of the four seasons, with supreme authority for the decision of all causes.

The Lord
Chancellor.

The mode of government hitherto detailed is ordinary and according to the statutes; but I will now tell of the supreme authority of the Crown, which extends even beyond these laws, as necessary, they being in great part imperfect, and too rigorous. But as, because were Her Majesty to attend in person to the despatch of all the necessary business, the burden would be too great, she lays this part of it on the Lord Chancellor of the kingdom, who, as already mentioned, is the Bishop of Winchester, and by the Royal mandate he decides summarily such causes as seem to him worthy of being countenanced (*suffragate*) by his authority; and as it has been necessary to speak of his right reverend Lordship, he being the person who at present not only governs this department, but has greater authority than anybody else about Her Majesty, it will not be irrelevant for your Serenity to hear his condition.

Account of
Stephen
Gardiner.

His name is Stephen Gardiner, LL.D., his father having been of very middling station, but he himself, by reason of his abilities, was very much esteemed by Henry VIII., who accredited him several times as ambassador, and amongst the rest to Pope Clement, to treat the divorce from her present Majesty's mother, which he

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advised him to effect; but not having assented to the alienation from the Catholic Church, he got rather out of favour with the King, after whose death, as he never would consent to what was done about the Sacrament (*alle cose del Sacramento*), they put him in the Tower, where he remained for six years, but on the Queen's arrival in London he was released immediately, and made Lord Chancellor, and the favour which he has gained with Her Majesty is caused principally by his having been an excellent agent for restoring the religion to its present state.

The Privy
Council.

The government of State affairs is entirely in the hands of her Majesty's Council, which at present consists of about 40 members, although under former sovereigns they were not more than 20, but as all the members of the Council of King Edward were the accomplices of the Duke of Northumberland in proclaiming Lady Jane Grey queen, and therefore guilty of rebellion, her Majesty created a Council of her own, to which, on arriving in London—having pardoned the rebels—she added the greater part of those who had been the councillors of King Edward.

Gardiner.

The manner in which they transact business is as follows:—The leading members are lodged in the palace where her Majesty resides, some of them sleeping there, according to ancient custom, so that she may never be alone. They meet very early in the morning, and, provided the chiefs are present, although they may not be more than six or seven, the Council is understood to be assembled, and the president proposes the matters for discussion—though at present the Bishop of Winchester has the management of everything—and each member present is at liberty to give his opinion by word of mouth, the decision of the majority being presented for approval to the Queen, who, deferring in everything to the Council, approves accordingly. As according to the custom of the country one of the councillors is always superior to the rest, and what pleases him seems nearly always to please the others also, the present Prime Minister, as aforesaid, is the Bishop of Winchester, and next to him those most in the Queen's favour are the Earl of Arundel [Henry Fitz-Allan, twenty-first Earl of Arundel,] Lord Paget, and Secretary Petre; but Paget, both because he is a very experienced statesman (*molto pratico delle ationi del mondo*), as also from having been the person who negotiated the marriage with the Prince of Spain, took precedence of all of them until now, when, as an acknowledged anti-Catholic, he is out of favour with her Majesty. The Bishop of Winchester, on the contrary, who at the commencement opposed the marriage and ran great risk of disgrace, until being convinced of the Queen's firm intention he diligently aided its accomplishment, is now paramount to everybody.

Paget.

Although in my despatches, I gave very detailed account to the Signory of the mode in which the marriage was treated,* I will now, nevertheless, mention briefly a few particulars about it.

Queen Mary
and Courtenay.

Immediately on her accession, the Queen became well aware of the great wish of the country that she should marry Lord Courtenay,

* The despatches here alluded to no longer exist.

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REPORT
on England
(Aug. 18.)

Proposals for
the marriage
with Philip.

Wyatt's rebel-
lion.

whose noble descent entitled him to a preference over any other native, everybody being above all desirous that she should marry an Englishman, and by no means a foreigner; but the Emperor, who purposed effecting, at any rate, what subsequently came to pass, had recourse to various means for sounding the will (*animo*) of her Majesty, who, although she had always shown very great affection for the Emperor, yet being quite intent on gratifying the general wish of the kingdom, did not give ear to him. But from a very feeble commencement (*d'assai debil principio*) he derived means for accomplishing his project, as Lord Paget, having discovered that Courtenay was not true to him, being told that Courtenay said if ever he became the Queen's husband, he would bear in mind that, in the reign of Henry VIII., Paget proposed to have him put to death, took this much to heart, and the Imperialists took occasion thence to persuade Paget to exhort the Queen to marry the Prince of Spain, laying before her the straits to which the kingdom was reduced by the scarcity of money, and that there were no better means for reforming the religion than through the support of so great a Prince, who, being very Catholic, would and could convert the English from their false doctrines. In addition to this, the Imperial Ambassador made an offer of the Low Countries and other patrimonial territory [to be incorporated with the English Crown]. The Queen, being born of a Spanish mother, was always inclined towards that nation, scornful to be English and boasting of her descent from Spain, was moved by these arguments; the like offices being performed both by the Earl of Arundel and Secretary Peire; and becoming more and more aware daily of the largeness of the Emperor's offers, her Majesty sent for the Bishop of Winchester and the three other personages aforesaid, and manifested to them her inclination in favour of this marriage; and although Winchester at first combated it, he at length acquiesced. But as Parliament was then sitting, the Lower House, on hearing of this negotiation, determined to go to her Majesty and lay before her in the name of the Commons, the detriment which might be caused the kingdom by her marriage to a foreigner; wherefore they were compelled to beseech her to marry an Englishman, without naming anyone in particular. Not only did she reply ungraciously, but without allowing them even to conclude their address, rebuked them for their audacity, in daring to speak to her their Queen about marriage, saying, however, that she would consult with God, and with no one else, which greatly disturbed everybody, and yet more when they heard that it had been stipulated; so last Christmas, many of the chief gentry, partly from dissatisfaction at seeing the kingdom in the hands of the Spaniards, and partly from disapproval of the change in the religion, plotted together, and arranged amongst themselves that on Palm Sunday, the 18th March, an insurrection was to break out all over the kingdom. But the conspiracy being discovered before the time in Cornwall, where Peter Carew was the ringleader, and subsequently in Kent, where Wyatt headed the insurgents, having mustered there some 4,000, he, after suborning the Queen's forces at Rochester, under the Duke of

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Norfolk, marched to London, and encamped in the borough of Southwark, on the other side of the bridge, and having departed thence, in order to cross a bridge seven miles off and enter the city, he was met and routed on the first day of Lent by the Queen's troops under the Earl of Pembroke. I will not now tell of the great danger which then threatened the city of London, as, had Wyatt succeeded, the foreigners at least would have been sacked, it being quite certain that the Londoners had an understanding with him; nor could any better mode be devised for keeping them in check, as they had already commenced rioting, than for Her Majesty to go in person through the city to the Guildhall (*nella sala*), where, having assembled the people, after saying many things to quiet them, she promised to call a Parliament immediately, in which she would hear the reasons (*le ragioni*) alleged by the kingdom, and not do anything to dissatisfy it; so Parliament met, but as through the assiduity employed (*con la diligenza*) no members were returned, save such as were known to be of the Queen's mind, it was very easy to obtain from the two Houses the approval of the marriage contract, of which, although I sent your Serenity a private copy made from the original, I will not omit alluding at present to the chief articles.

Articles of the
marriage con-
tract.

After consummating the marriage, the Prince was to have the same titles as Her Majesty, and to assist her in the government of the kingdom, he retaining the titles so long as he shall be Her Majesty's husband; and should she die before him he is bound to renounce the title of King, and to quit the realm immediately. The Queen, in like manner, is to have the same titles as the Prince on the same terms. The eldest son born of this marriage is to have the states of Flanders and the other patrimonial territories of the Emperor; and should there be no male heirs, the eldest daughter is to inherit, provided she marry either a Fleming or an Englishman, with the consent of Don Carlos, Prince Philip's son. In the administration (*maneggio*) or government of the kingdom of England none but English are to be admitted (*non si admetterà alcuno che non sia Inglese*). The Prince is neither to take the Queen out of England against her will, nor yet the children who may be born of her (*che nasceranno*), without the consent of the Peers of the realm (*delli Principi del Regno*). The kingdom is not to be bound to give assistance to the Emperor, or to the Prince, in the war against France.

Prospects of
King Philip in
England.

From this contract and alliance your Serenity may perfectly comprehend the understanding and union between the kingdom of England and the Emperor, so on this subject it is unnecessary to say anything further; but convinced as I am that your Lordships would fain know how Prince Philip can rule that realm pacifically, although all opinions of future events are very uncertain, and above all such as relate to affairs in England, where men's minds (*gli umori*) are very mutable, I will nevertheless not omit to say something about them.

It is quite clear that, should Don Philip choose to maintain himself in England by sheer force, he would require a very great

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number of troops, which I do not think he could muster at present during the Emperor's war with France, so it may be supposed that he intends to rule in peace and quiet, which would, I think, render him more secure; for the greater the amount of foreign troops introduced into the country, the greater cause would the English have for riots and discontent, as very well known to his Highness; for the Spanish soldiers who came with him from Spain did not even disembark, the Lords of the Council having required this, and it was also specified in one of the articles of the marriage contract, which, at least, at this commencement, he may be expected to observe above all things; and as it is throughout very greatly in favour of the English, and to their advantage by adhering to it, there will, doubtless, be no cause for riots. It may also be supposed that, through a variety of opportunities, he will endeavour to benefit the nobility (*li grandi*), without whom, with difficulty, can the people ever do anything of consequence; and by associating with the aristocracy, he, in time, will have no great difficulty about ascertaining their disposition, and will give them colleagues, who, acknowledging their dignity and profit as the gifts of his Highness, will seek his advantage, nor will he lack means for disposing adroitly of those who dissent from him (*che non v'assentirano*). It may also be supposed that his chief care will be to garrison the fortresses with Englishmen who he can persuade himself depend on his own immediate will.* These and very many other precautions he could take, which might benefit him; but nothing would be more efficacious than the Queen's pregnancy, the mere hope of which is sufficient to curb the people. On the other hand, as it is a very easy matter to raise a rebellion in England, not only when headed by some great personage of authority (*qualche principe d'autorità*), but even without such support, there is no doubt whatever of his Highness being in constant danger, experience having shown that often in these rebellions even the native kings were well nigh worsted (*quasi oppressi*); so it is always to be feared that his Highness may have to endure some trouble, most especially as the English (*quelle genti*) are so fickle (*di così poca fede*), that neither benefits nor anything else can ever give security for their resolves (*volontà*).

Relations between England and France.

At present Her Majesty is quite at peace with the most Christian King, though there are many visible causes which might disturb it, as for instance, the many English ships captured by the French during the last few months, and for which the English have never received entire compensation, although his most Christian Majesty promised it in full (*largamente*). It is also very evident how much the English writhe under the French domination of Scotland, both because it seems to them that that kingdom passed out of their hands fraudulently, the young Queen—already affianced to King Edward—having been carried off to France; as also because they very well know that, through that quarter, many and most serious attacks may be made upon them; so this is, doubtless, their chief

* Si può ancor credere che principalmente attenderà a mettere nelle fortezze degli Inglesi, li quali immediatamente si possa persuadere, che dipendono dalla sua volontà.

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grievance. In addition to this, in England, it is considered certain that the King of France had an understanding with the Kentish insurgents, which is the more believed the more they see him harbour the [English] exiles (*fuorusciti*); and although the Queen has repeatedly required the French Ambassadors to renew the [international?] treaty, no determination has ever been announced to her.

But what matters more than everything else, is the love she may be expected to bear her husband, and should he determine on persuading her to make war on France, it may be believed that she will not refuse him, most especially if he makes himself agreeable to her. Considering, on the other hand, the unpopularity of the marriage, which has estranged (*mutato*) the affection borne by the people to the Queen, and they knowing that the war would benefit—not the Realm, but one whom they consider well nigh their enemy—it is credible that they would strongly oppose it, besides which, the Exchequer is in the last state of exhaustion; and owing to the discontent of the people, with great difficulty can it be supposed that Parliament would vote any money grant, or that the country would pay it; so on these and other accounts, those who wish to bear in mind the welfare of the kingdom, must be of opinion that the best it can do is to keep quiet.

Soranzo's conduct and treatment in England.

During his residence in England as the Signory's Ambassador, was always treated with the greatest marks of goodwill, was admitted into King Edward's chamber without any previous demand for audience, and was always detained by him for a long while with every demonstration of honour towards the Republic. Has also been most graciously treated by Queen Mary, both since her accession and before, when he frequently visited her and did her service by procuring for her many articles of value from Venice, much to her satisfaction.* After she came to the crown, did not fail to do whatever he thought might be to the satisfaction of her Majesty and the Signory, having gone to meet her with 150 horse when she made her entry into London; and at the time of the coronation he appeared in a mantle and other habits as customary with Venetian Ambassadors on similar occasions, performing whatever other office could prove acceptable, as mentioned from time to time in his despatches.†

The like goodwill was always shown him by the Lords of the Council, both in the time of King Edward, especially by the Duke of Northumberland, who was the head of the government, and now by the Bishop of Winchester, who on every occasion showed favour to Soranzo and to all Venetian subjects. Can therefore assure the Doge and Senate that the Queen and the whole court hold the prudence and power of the Venetian Republic in very great account, and wish to gratify the Signory on every occasion whatever.

Praises his successor Giovanni Michiel (who arrived in London

* "In fargli condurre da questa inclita città molte robbe, et anco di valore con molta sua satisfazione."

† A few of Soranzo's letters to the Council of Ten, have been found amongst the miscellanies in the Venetian archives, but the rest of the correspondence seems to have perished by fire, in the 16th century.

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on the 22nd May 1554), and his own Secretary Giovanni Francesco de Franceschi.*

[Italian.]

Aug. 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

935. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Account of the war in the Low Countries. The Spanish infantry have not yet crossed from England, and they are receiving supplies of hose, jerkins, and arms, being naked and needy, as implied by their Spanish title "bisoños" (perchè son nudi et bisogni come dicono loro). Brabant has consented to give 200,000 crowns, and they are now treating to prolong the time of payment (the Queen [Maria of Hungary] wishing it to be made in the course of October), and about the mode of exacting it from private individuals, which will, it is believed, be by increasing the duties on the necessaries of life (le robe de vivere). Flanders will give 300,000, and Holland, Zealand, and other provinces make up the sum total of 1,000,000 in all, Luxemburg, Hainault, Namur, and Artois not being reckoned, as it supposed they will be exempted on account of the ruin caused them by the wars. A bargain (un partito), now very near conclusion, is being treated with German merchants for 500,000 crowns, to be disbursed by them forthwith to the Emperor in Spain, his Majesty repaying it in these provinces at the end of 15 months without any interest, security to that amount being given on the "giuri" in Spain.† Of the money received from England 100,000 crowns have been distributed to the Imperial army on account of arrears without making any inspection.

Don Francisco de Mendoza has arrived from England with news of the coming of the King and Queen to Westminster; of the Garter given to the Duke of Savoy and Lord Fitzwalter; and that the coronation will not be performed until after the meeting of Parliament, which will take place next October; but your Serenity will be better informed about these matters by the accompanying packet from London.

The Queen of England has sent handsome presents of jewels to the Emperor, and to the Queens of France and Hungary; and a beautiful emerald to the Duchess of Lorraine.

Brussels, 18th August 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

* In the printed copy of this report, Soranzo says that King Edward knighted and gave him a gold chain as a badge when he went into mourning for the death of his (Soranzo's) grandfather; and on his departure the Queen gave him another gold chain. The two together were worth 800 crowns, and he requested the Senate to allow him to retain them, in consideration of what he suffered at the time of the sweating sickness; from the famine prices; from the reduction of the money; from the length of his embassy; and from the expenses incurred by him on the Queen's entry into London, and for her coronation; when he was obliged to reapparel himself and his attendants several times.

† The "giuri" signified the acknowledged or funded debt of the crown,—"*circa, così si domanda l'interesse del denaro del quale è stata servita la corona in diversi tempi.*" (See Surian's Report of Spain in the year 1559, published by Alberi, series 1, vol. 3, p. 340.) In Tiepolo's Report of Spain, A.D. 1563, vol. 5, p. 38, the explanation of the word is given thus: "Interesse di juri, che sono come i nostri MONTI," "monti" signifying the funded debt of Venice.

1554.

Aug. 19.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

936. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has written Cardinal Pole a beautiful letter (*una bella lettera*) full of love, of honour, and of offers; and charged Count Horn to perform [a complimentary] office orally, but the Count, having remained in the camp, forwarded the letter; and to certain English friars, who asked his leave and advice about returning to England, the King had them told that they can go thither at their pleasure, so England is now seen to change her mind and customs, and take the true path (*si che si vede mutarsi le volontà, et li costumi di quel Regno et incamminarsi alla vera via*).

The English ambassador resident here [Sir John Masone] has told me that his colleague [Peter Vannes] resident with your Serenity has written a letter, or rather a schedule (*processo*) to his Queen, about certain words uttered in Venice by a servant of said ambassador [by name George Page] against her Majesty, purporting that he would have the heart to kill her (*che gli saria bastato l'animo di amazzarla, &c.*),* and that the ambassador came to your Serenity to demand the arrest of his servant for this cause, and that you told him it was of no importance (*che non importava*), nor should the words of similar persons be heeded (*nè era da metter a mente le parole di tali*), and that at Venice there was liberty for good men and for rogues (*era libertà alli buoni et alli tristi*), and that he himself was to make him hold his tongue. So as Vannes did not think fit to allow this outrage against the Queen to remain unpunished he went to Mantua, where the Cardinal [Ercole Gonzaga] and the Duchess [the Regents of Mantua] conceded him the apprehension of the servant, who, on being examined, confessed to having said the words, and thereupon many witnesses were examined.

Sir John Masone added that he should send his colleague's letter to the Queen by the next post, and that Peter Vannes was very timid; and wrote to him from fear lest, in case of the words reaching the Queen's ear, they might subject him to reproof as well as detriment (*egli ne ricevesse biasimo et danno anchora*).

I said to Sir John Masone that fear was by certain persons appropriately styled a tie and ligature (*vinculo et legame*), and that some had too much of it, as seemed to have been the case with Mr. Vannes, who was as it were bound (*legato*), and knew not what to do, and that occasionally, under other circumstances, I had seen him in greater fear about ridiculous matters; nor was it becoming to imprison men for light causes, such as the words of a base menial (*un vil servitor*), who was either mad or drunk, and that I believed when the Queen heard them they would move her to laughter; nor are trifles of this sort held in account at Venice.

At this point Sir John Masone interrupted me, confirming my remarks by saying that when in England he heard of and saw your Serenity's letters to the late King Edward about the timidity of Mr. Vannes, and that previously he [Masone] had seen him cry from fear, and that according to his belief the Queen would laugh at the matter.

* The letter here alluded to has been printed in the Foreign Calendar, date Venice, 16 June 1554 (entry 224, pp. 97, 98).

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DAMULA to the
DOGE and
SENATE.
(Aug. 19.)

I commended her Majesty, saying I imagined he [Masone], when writing to the Queen, would apologize for Vannes, on the plea of his being afraid of that which he should have disregarded, because otherwise sovereigns would have too much to do, as both at this Court and all over the world there are ignorant persons in great number who, wherever they chance to be, defame their own sovereigns.

Masone replied that he would do as I told him, and that since the last Parliament, this liberty of speech is greater in England than in any place in the world, whereas previously, one word of the sort constituted *crimen laesae Majestatis*, which, seeming too harsh and unjust, they therefore repealed the statute.

I have now received letters from the camp, where it was heard through French prisoners that in the engagement of the 13th the Admiral of France was killed, a man much beloved by the King, on account of his valour, and nephew of the Constable, besides many other cavaliers; that the Count d'Egmont and the Marquis de Berghes had arrived from England, with news that in two days the greater part of the Spanish cavalry, which came with the Prince, would join the camp, it having been asserted that Mons. de Ri (*sic*) [Rieux ?] the Emperor's Chief Chamberlain, and his brother, have also passed through Brussels for Burgundy for this same purpose; but nothing was said in the camp about the time appointed for their march, nor when the Emperor was to depart thence.

I understand that the entry of the King and Queen into London has been delayed for four days, and the announcement made by Don Francesco de Mendoza of their arrival at Westminster, was untrue.

Further particulars of the war in Flanders, and of the retreat of the French from Renti,

It is now reported that the Emperor will leave the army and reside at St. Omer, his frontier town, on the borders of Picardy, towards the sea.

Since having written thus far, I have received letters from Heidelberg, dated the 15th, purporting that in the Diet of Worms they are now discussing the demand made by the Bishops, with regard to the war waged on the Marquis [Albert of Brandenburg?], as rebel to the Empire, &c., &c.*

Brussels, 19th August 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 20.

937. CARDINAL POLE to the PRINCE OF SPAIN.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

Having for so many causes, human and divine, congratulated himself on his Majesty's marriage with Pole's most Serene Queen (*Serenissima Regina nostra*), has chosen by the gentleman the bearer of the present letter, to do the like with his Majesty, whom he requests to give entire credence to whatever will be said to him in Pole's name on this subject by the envoy. Prays God, that in

* This Diet is alluded to in Foreign Calendar, September 26, 1554, p. 121.

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like manner as by means of this marriage, he has called the King for the real advantage and welfare of England, which since so many years has been so harassed, so will he favour it in such wise, as daily more and more to prove the Divine goodness and providence, to the universal joy of all men, by means of his Majesty.*

From Brussels, 20th August 1554?

[*Italian.*]

[Aug. 20 ?]

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

938. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Having been informed with how much contentment the King his son has been received in England,† congratulates the Emperor, in the hope that the marriage of two such Catholic and pious Princes may effect the establishment of the holy religion and the complete welfare of England.

From Brussels, 20th July [20th August ?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20 ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date of time
or place in MS.

939. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

Request of the Cardinal of Burgos, writes a letter of recommendation to the Queen for Burgos' present messenger.‡

From Brussels, 20th August 1554?

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20 ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date in MS.

940. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF ARRAS.

Congratulates the Emperor on the arrival of the Prince of Spain in England and on his marriage with the Queen.

From Brussels, 20th August 1554?

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

941. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Narrative of the sequel of the war in Flanders (*in cipher*.)

A courier addressed to the Queen of England has arrived from Valladolid, and on passing through France was detained eight days at Paris, his bag and everything else being searched for letters addressed to the King of England, but when it was ascertained that he was merely conveying despatches to the Queen, they set him at liberty. He brings word that 300,000 crowns now due to her Majesty from Spain, could not be obtained so immediately, because the bills of exchange (*le lettere*) had not arrived in time for the fair [of Medina de Campo],§ so the money will be longer [on its way], (*et però li danari seranno più lungi*), but it is

* King Philip arrived at Southampton on the 20th July 1554. (See Foreign Calendar, 25 July 1554, No. 106.) Pole probably wrote this letter at the same time as the following one to the Emperor.

† In the manuscript this letter is dated Brussels, the 20th July. As King Philip did not land at Southampton until the 20th July, I do not understand how Cardinal Pole could have had news of his reception on the very day it took place.

‡ By name Pedro Pacheco. (See Foreign Calendar, June 22, 1554, Naples, p. 99.)

§ Two of the principal exchange fairs in Spain were held at Seville and Medina de Campo, and by the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date Seville, 30 November 1554, entry No. 297, pp. 141, 142, it is shewn that the English merchant Thomas Gresham was then negotiating in person at both those marts.

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DAMULA to the
DOGE and
SENATE.
(Aug. 26.)

certain that in Spain there is a great scarcity [of money]; and therefore the Queen is now taking on [bills of] exchange (a cambio) at Antwerp about 150 thousand crowns, with which her agents say she purposes paying off a debt of 110,000 contracted by her at Antwerp last October; but from what I hear through another channel, her Majesty intends to make use of this sum in England, where the King has been compelled to incur great expense, which still continues, and a great quantity of money was spent on his passage with so large a fleet, and troops of so many sorts, so that the greater part of the money brought by him has remained on the other side of the Channel, and the Emperor could only use a small part of it; so, as written in my last, he made the request of the States, and insists at any rate on having the money in October, the belief being that it will be paid, most especially should he make war in the quarter where he now is.

The Marquis of Pescara will go to Naples in the new King's name to take possession of the investiture and administration made and conceded him by the Emperor, his father, and to make all the members of the Government and warders take the oath, for which same purpose Don Juan de Cordova will in like manner go to Milan, and every day of late the Emperor has been attending to the despatch of this business (a questi spazzi).

Although this [affair] of the administration of the Milanese for the Prince, his son, is not yet completed,* it is as good as made, because, as your Serenity knows, the investiture was given him as long ago as the year 1549,† the oath of fealty having also been tendered to the Milanese magistrates in favour of such person as the Emperor might be pleased to nominate,‡ and this, I believe, was written to your Serenity and the other Italian potentates. It is not yet known who are to be the Governors of Naples and of Milan, but the Duke of Alca is talked of for the one, and the Count de Feria for the other; and it is said that Don Ferrante Gonzaga has had leave to go and kiss the hand of the King of England.

The English Ambassador with your Serenity [Peter Vannes], has written hither that Peter Carew, who was the leader of the Cornish insurrection, is in Venice, and that he often wished to speak to Vannes, who always refused to listen to him, nor does he [Vannes] know how to comport himself (*et non sa come governarsi*), as Carew is a rebel to the Queen. To Sir John Masone, who spoke to me about this, I said that in no place could Peter Carew do less mischief than in that noble city (*quella inclita città*), where he might learn obedience and quiet, and repent himself, which Masone admitted, and seemed glad of it, as I added, that the least harm Peter Carew might have done [in England?], would have been to turn corsair, like the others, and plunder English subjects.

Mons. de la Chaux [Jean Poupet] (*Mons. de Lasciao*) has been

* Benchè questo della administratione dello stato di Milano nel Principe suo figliuolo non sia anchor spedito, etc.

† According to *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, the Emperor gave the investiture of the Milanese to his son Philip on the 11th October 1540.

‡ Et fu dato etiam il iuramento di fedeltà a quelli del stato di Milano, in quella persona che piacesse a Cesare nominare.

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sent by the Emperor to the King of England to give him account of the events of the war, and perhaps for some other cause likewise. The Duke of Savoy also is sending his Majesty an ambassador, who came to salute and compliment me in the name of his master, who has done the like by me through several other gentlemen in his service, whose narratives of events in the camp since his departure hence differed but little in many particulars from the true information already transmitted by me.

For the instruction of the Ambassador Michiel in England, I have communicated to him my conversation with Sir John Masone, as mentioned in my letter of the 19th.

I hear on good authority that amongst the Strozzi papers captured in the Siennese territory, were letters from the French Ambassador resident at Rome, purporting that the Pope had promised him victuals, to be conveyed by the French fleet in Porto Venere, for the succour of Sienna; so here they have suspended the export permit for grain from Sicily, which had been already despatched at the request of his Holiness; and consequently, six days ago, the Nuncio sent his Auditor to the Emperor, nor has he yet returned, for which cause there is a difficulty about expediting the business.

Gives further particulars of the war in Flanders.

Brussels, 26th August 1554.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 28.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

942. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Many persons say that Mons. de Segni, who in the skirmish of the 13th was captured by the French, has been set at liberty, and is come to the Emperor with articles of peace and terms from the King, more ample (più larghe) than any that have been offered hitherto.

However this may be, there can be no doubt the Emperor and the King wish for peace, as according to report, both one and the other lack money; but my own opinion is, that the Emperor's hope and reliance rest on the money voted by these States, amounting to 800,000 crowns, more or less. From Spain, they have only received the 300,000 crowns, about which I wrote, and the Queen of England has well nigh stipulated (ha come concluso) a loan for 240,000 crowns, the money to be disbursed in Antwerp, I know not at what rate of interest, but with the crowns they give her a quantity of fustian (ma tra questi, le danno una quantità di fustagni), the sum to be repaid within a year; and the Emperor, most especially should he attack Ardres, as is told me, would greatly benefit the English, and it is certain that his Majesty purposes making an expedition this year, as both from Arras and other places, they are bringing a very great quantity of heavy artillery to his camp, besides the 40 pieces which have already arrived from Mechlin. The number of pioneers has also been doubled, and waggons for the conveyance of ammunition and victuals have been ordered from all parts, and another infantry regiment was lately sent for from Germany, in like manner as

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DAMULA to the
DOGE and
SENATE.
(Aug. 28.)

was done for the one from Swabia, about which I wrote heretofore. Everything, in short, indicates a speedy and vigorous attack, and heavy cannonading. Some persons counselled the Emperor to attack Abbeville, and employ these forces against a much more important fortress than Ardres; but if it were well garrisoned and provided (munite), it might make great resistance, and withstand a long siege.

The Spaniards have landed on this coast from England, and were yesterday about three miles from St. Omer.

The Governor of Arlon, an Imperial fortress of Luxemburg, having heard lately that some French horse, with about 200 foot, had quitted their fortresses and were going towards Thionville to plunder, attacked them on the sudden, and routed them, killing and capturing almost all the infantry.

This evening, the Auditor of the Papal Nuncio returned from St. Omer, where he complained to the Bishop of Arras, not so much because the export permit for grain from Sicily, as demanded by the Pope, had been stopped, but because this indicated some distrust on the part of the Emperor, with regard to the Pope's good-will towards his Majesty, although he knows what tricks the French play, and ought not to trust them, having seen with his own eyes the letters written by them occasionally to the Princes of Germany, accusing him of wishing to subjugate Germany, and make his son, the Prince, hereditary lord of it; and that the French Ambassador may have written to Strozzi to feed him with hope of assistance from the Pope, who is so far from giving victuals to the French, that they have occasionally bravadoed about making the Turkish fleet come in those waters, as also of withdrawing the obedience of France from the Roman See. In short, after much discourse, which it would be long to write, the Bishop of Arras despatched the Auditor with very fair words and promises of sending the export permit to the Imperial Ambassador for presentation to the Pope, but did not choose to send it to the Nuncio, perhaps that he might apologise, or else avail himself of this opportunity for confirming him in his friendship, and yet more probably take, perchance, occasion hence to ask for half of the ecclesiastical fruits of Spain; a demand which, upwards of a month ago, the Emperor caused his Ambassador to make of the Pope, without ever saying the least word about it to Cardinal Pole, or to the Nuncio; and as the measure encounters much difficulty, they hope thus to facilitate it.

Brussels, 28th August 1544.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

943. GIOVANNI CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Many persons here disapprove of the determination so speedily to disband the greater part of the army.

I have been told that the Papal Nuncio proposed to the Lords (a questi Signori) that as they had taken Marienburg, built

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by Queen Maria, who prized it greatly, it might be inferred that were it proposed to restore it, both she and the Emperor would consent to a cessation of hostilities, and that the most Christian King should consent to make this restitution in order to obtain a truce, which would prove very convenient to him, as he had given Cardinal Pole to understand; but many days having elapsed without a reply, the Nuncio departed. I now understand that a Burgundian nobleman, in great favour with the Emperor, who was captured lately in the engagement under Renti, offered to find a means of making a truce between them, provided he could go and negotiate it; whereupon these Lords released him on his parole (*su la fede sua*) to return in a few days, and he returned last evening, but it is not yet known what answer he brings.

Compiègne, 28th August 1554.

[Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

944. MARC' ANTONIO DAMULA, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince of Orange, the Count d'Arenberg, and the Count of Meghen, came hither lately, as personages of these States, to negotiate and urge the exaction of the monies promised to the Emperor, as written by me; nor does the difficulty consist in the payment, as they have already promised it, and his Majesty avails himself of the promise [by raising the amount] through the merchants, but it has not yet been settled in what way this sum is to be obtained from private individuals, as the other means seem difficult, and to put new duties on the necessities of life (*sopra le cose del vivere*), as they did lately, would to my knowledge hazard a fresh insurrection, the people having rebelled on this account at Antwerp, and other places also, nor as yet has the matter been decided.

The Duke of Savoy has been canvassing the Imperial ministers, and perhaps his Majesty himself, to obtain the government of the Milanese, in the hope that it may not only benefit him for the government of his own subjects, who hitherto have been greatly maltreated by the hands of others, but be also advantageous for the Emperor, as the Duke would be better able to obtain accommodations (*comodità*) for him from his subjects than a Spanish Governor, the name of that nation being execrated, not merely in the duchy of Savoy, but in the Milanese likewise. A certain Imperial minister answered him (*gli è stato risposto da alcun ministro di sua Maestà*), that what he now demands is much less than what the Emperor wishes to do for him, and that this he will see by fact, giving him good hope by word of mouth; so the Duke seeing that the Milanese is given to the King of England, by whom he believes himself much beloved, has sent to make this request to the Duke [Philip of Spain] aforesaid, and is now by no means satisfied with the Emperor.

The English Ambassador here has written to his colleague [Peter Vannes] resident with your Serenity, that on his own account (*sopra di se*), he may speak to Peter Carew whenever he pleases,

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DAMULA to the
DOGE and
SENATE.
(Sept. 2.)

and that he [Masone] has written to the Queen that said Carew could not be in a better place than Venice, and that he should be entertained, because he is not naturally bad.*

The Bishop of Arras, Mons. de Praet, and the Doctor Gerardo have been charged to investigate all the accusations, defences, and writings sent lately by the syndics of Milan, concerning Don Ferrante Gonzaga, and report to the Emperor everything relating to this matter; so Don Ferrante has deferred his journey to England, but has sent an agent thither, and is not at all pleased that the treatment of his affairs should pass through the hands of the personages aforesaid.

Some relations of the Cardinal of Burgos, who have arrived from England, say that the most Christian King had sent three ambassadors to perform an office of ceremony with the King and Queen, and that they were also commissioned to learn the King's mind as to whether he would observe the convention which exists between the realms of France and England, to which his Majesty replied that he would do whatsoever might be suitable for his kingdoms, such being the precise words which they say were uttered to them by the King of England ("et che havevano anche commissione d' intender l' animo del Re se voleva osservare la capitulatione che è tra li Regni di Franza et di Anglia, il che dimandato al Re, Sua Maestà rispose, che faria tanto quanto fusse conveniente alli suoi Regni, et sono le formali parole che dicono haver ditto il Re d' Inghilterra"); and that in October King Philip is to have an interview with the Emperor; and I wrote from Brussels that such was the order given him, if he could execute it conveniently; and he has sent, as a present to two noblemen of these provinces, a horse and a mule for their use on the way to meet him, as he is coming to confer with the Emperor. Many persons, able to obtain authentic intelligence, are of opinion that the interview will take place, though the period will be delayed according to circumstances.

Having written thus far, I received letters written from Bethune on the morning of the 30th ult., on the morning of which day the Emperor was to go to Arras, where he will perhaps remain some days to speed (per favore) the enterprise against Dourlens. They do not tell me that the Switzers have been dismissed, my correspondent, on the contrary, having received a hint that the French army will hang on the Emperor's rear, as heretofore, to keep him always in alarm (in sospetto) and short of victuals (et stretto delle vittuaglie), and to prevent the enterprise, as the Imperialists did by the French, until they retreated.

The Lucchese merchants at Antwerp, by order of their Republic have elected two ambassadors [one] to the Emperor, and [the other to] the King of England, to perform an office of congratulation on this marriage. But I understand from another quarter, that the chief cause is to complain to both Sovereigns that the Duke of Florence wants to build a fortress in a place where the Lucchese consider it will be a grievance for them (in loco dove Lucchesi

* Et che egli è huomo da esser trattenuto, perchè non è di sua natura cattivo.

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pretendono gravame), nor will they consent to it, although the Duke promises to raze it (disparlo) at the end of the present war.

I disbelieve the above-written intelligence from England about the coming of fresh ambassadors from France, as the Florentine ambassador, who arrived last evening from England, [and] to whom I spoke, after having written thus far, tells me there is no fresh ambassador there from France, but that the ambassador in ordinary [Antoine de Noailles] and his brother [François]* spoke to the King and Queen about the conventions aforesaid.

Brussels, 2nd September 1554.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 7.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 42,
tergo.

945. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO ERIZO, "Bailo" at Constantinople.

By letters, dated Brussels, 28th August, learn that the Emperor was at St. Omer at no great distance from his army, that he was preparing a battering train, and that 3,000 Spanish infantry, sent by his son the most Serene King of England, who brought them with him from Spain, had arrived in the camp.

The letters from England down to the 14th August, say that in a few days the most Serene King and Queen would be in London for the coronation.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
Printed with
some omissions
in vol. iv.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,"
etc.
pp. 162-166.

946. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

It is now a year since he commenced knocking at his palace gate, nor as yet has any one opened it to him. Were the King to ask "who knocks," he would merely reply, "I am he who, in order not to exclude your consort from the palace of England, endured expulsion from home and country, and twenty years of exile." Were he merely to say this much, would he not seem worthy to return to his country, and to have access to the King? But as he is not acting in his own name, nor as a private person, he knocks and demands, in the name and person of the vicegerent of the King of kings, and the Pastor of man, namely, the successor of Peter, or rather Peter himself, whose authority heretofore so flourishing and vigorous in England, is now most injuriously ejected thence.

Through Pole, Peter has long been knocking at the royal gate, which, although open to others, is still closed to him alone. The voice, perhaps, was not heard? It was heard perfectly, and with no less marvel at the Divine power and graciousness towards the church, than was felt of yore by Mary the mother of John, when the damsel Rhoda announced Peter (whom King Herod had put in chains on the eve of execution, and for whom the Church was praying devoutly), released from prison and knocking at the door. If this caused great surprise to Mary and her companions, how is it possible that

* See Foreign Calendar, 1554, October 5, No. 267, p. 124.

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CARDINAL POLE
to KING PHILIP.
(Sept. 21.)

those who know that the supporters of St. Peter's authority and power in England during the Herodian rule, were put in chains and most cruelly deprived of life,—the names moreover of the successors of St. Peter being expunged from all books containing the prayers of the Church for their safety and well-being,—can fail to marvel greatly at this pledge and testimony of the Divine graciousness and power; Peter at present, as if again freed from the prison of Herod, stands knocking at the very gate of the palace from which all these most iniquitous decrees against him proceeded; and astonishing as this is, yet is it no less so that the palace should belong to Mary. Why, then, did she so long delay the opening of the door? It is written of the damsel of Mary the mother of John, that on hearing the voice of Peter, being almost beside herself with joy, and not thinking about giving admittance, she hastened first of all to tell the tidings to Mary and the others who were with her, and who all at first doubted them; but then, as Peter continued to knock, they opened the door, nor did they hesitate to admit him, although there was great cause for fear, Herod himself being alive and on the throne.

But what can Pole say of Mary the Queen? Is it fear or joy, that forbids her to open the door? above all now that she has heard the voice of Peter, and knows for certain that he has been long knocking at her door; nor on this occasion can she but acknowledge the admirable power of God, who released her with his own hand, and not by means of an angel as was the case with Peter when freed from the prison of Herod, overthrowing the iron gates which barred her way to the palace. Pole knows that Queen Mary rejoices; but he also knows that she fears; had she not feared, she would not have so long delayed. If she rejoices in Peter's release, if she acknowledges the miracle of her accession, what prevents her from giving him admittance when he comes to the gate, and returning due thanks to God, especially now that Herod is dead, and that she has inherited his whole Empire?

Perhaps Divine providence permitted this timid delay, in order that he, King Philip, might aid his consort Mary in the noble undertaking? Such was the interpretation given to this fear by Pole, in a letter which he addressed to the Queen; and therefore he now writes to the King her husband—a most religious Prince—and requires him, in the name of the said Peter, to relieve her entirely from all fear, demonstrating to her that when she sought his hand (*dum te illa sponsum accerseret*), although there was apparent cause for apprehension, she nevertheless alone defied fear, as she ought now to do, when joined in the flesh to so great a Prince, and give admittance to her spiritual Spouse, who, with Pole and Peter, has been so long waiting at the door, above all after he has so often and in such wonderful ways declared himself her guardian and defender.

This will fully convince the King why Pole perseveres so long; as had he come alone, he would already have departed alone; expostulating against the opening of the door to other Ambassadors, whilst to him, alone it remained closed; or had Peter alone accom-

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panied him, Peter in like manner would have departed, taking Pole with him, and shaking the dust off his feet as enjoined him by the Saviour whenever not admitted by any one whom he approached in the Lord's name; but Christ is with them, and they, Pole and Peter, are his representatives.

It is for Philip to consider whether, being a Catholic Prince, who has inherited the title of "Defender of the Faith," it becomes him to receive all foreign ministers who come to congratulate him on this acquired dignity, whilst the Legate of St. Peter's Successor who conferred it—that Legate being sent to confirm him on his throne in the name of the King of kings,—is alone denied admission. May it not be feared lest Christ take offence at the immediate admission of Ambassadors of all other Princes, whilst his Legate remains waiting without? Should it be said that Pole commences complaining; he does so, that King Philip may not complain of his omitting to give him the warning which he gave the Queen, of the danger of delay. The reception of Christ's Legate should have taken precedence of everything; as in every building the foundation stone is entitled to the first place. Should Philip attempt to build on any other foundation, Pole foretells him, in the words of Christ, that on that house the rain will descend and the floods come, and the winds will blow and beat upon it, and great will be its fall. The kingdom cannot be secure, unless based on obedience to the Church, which abolished, discord arose and the prosperity of the realm vanished; and should the King wish to restore it, he must restore the obedience to the Church. It is, therefore, necessary for him to receive forthwith him who is sent by God and by his Vicar. Should King Philip believe that Pole is not acceptable, he prays God to send some one else in his stead, as he desires nothing but the King's welfare.

From the Monastery of Diligham (*sic*) near Brussels, 21st September 1554.

[*Latin*, 140 lines.]

Sept. 28.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

947. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR.

Heretofore when there was so little hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion in England, by reason of the Rulers (*Governatori*) who persecuted it, Pole frequently, either spontaneously or by commission from the Pope, had recourse to the Emperor on account of the place held by him amongst the Princes of Christendom, as also by reason of his piety, and from seeing him called to this office by so many other causes, both public and private.

As the Divine Providence has now given the government of England into the hands of the Emperor's son, chosen for this purpose as consort of the most Serene Queen, he being so pious and obedient to his Imperial Majesty, Pole ought so much the more, and with surer hope, to have recourse to the Emperor. Nor may this appeal seem by any means immature, as whilst other foreign embassies have been graciously received, the Papal Legate has waited more than a year; most especially as his Holiness, who was

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entitled to precedence, remained aloof until the celebration of this auspicious marriage, which he so readily furthered by means of his authority.

Pole therefore prays the Emperor, as God has given him great influence in England, to do what is expected of his piety, and to show himself grateful to the Almighty and the Apostolic See, by opening to him the road thither without further delay, that he may serve their Majesties for the honour of God, for the welfare and advantage of the nation, and for the eternal glory of his Imperial Majesty, who alone comprehends what has always been the object (*finis*) of the Pope, and of Pole his minister, in this cause. Should it be chosen to delay doing what is so due to God and to the Church, and to the whole realm of England, until the obstacles vanish of themselves, any good result will be rendered hopeless, to the great offence of God, to whom Pole will never cease to pray for the consummation of so pious and holy a work, and for the conservation and prolonged prosperity of the Emperor, for the service of God, and for the benefit of all Christendom.

From the monastery of Dilignan (*sic*) near Brussels, 28th September 1554.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
in MS.

948. CARDINAL POLE to DON BERNARDINO.

Has received his letter of the 13th July, in which, by commission from the fathers and brethren of the monastery, he requests Pole to sanction the return to Naples of his and their Don Thomaso. In reply Pole writes that his sole reason for taking Don Thomaso with him on his journey, was, that he might serve the Church in his own country [England?]; so by sending him back before Pole knows whether the road would be open or closed to Don Thomaso (which God forbid), it would seem as if this proceeded from Pole, and that he had merely called him as a travelling companion, of which he had no need; and according to the dictates of conscience, Pole merely detained him until there was some greater certainty about his own going to England. But the first letters were written in such a tone, that had they arrived in time for Don Thomaso to return to Naples without endangering his life on account of the heat, Pole would have sent him back immediately, in order not to distress those whom he wishes to comfort; but now that Don Bernardino writes that the matter is referred to Pole, and to the will of Don Thomaso, Pole says that, for his own part, not only has he no mind to send Thomaso back, but rather to call another of the monks, namely, Don Bernardino himself, to assist this holy cause, hoping that he will not come in vain, and that there will be room for him also, to serve God and the Church, under such holy Sovereigns, the Queen having followed Pole's suggestions before her consort's arrival, so that now there is more cause for hope than ever.

* This letter seems to have been received by the Emperor at Arras, and is the one alluded to in Pole's letter to the Pope dated 13th October.

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Had written thus far, before Don Thomaso showed him the second letter from his brethren, whereby not only do they not leave Pole to decide about his remaining or returning, but desire Thomaso to come away *insalutato hospite*, should Pole oppose his departure.

It has greatly pleased Pole to see so much zeal and care for the salvation of their brother's soul, on which they appear to have been so intent, that like those who anticipate danger for one they love immoderately, they forget to bear in mind both the cause and the person with whom Don Thomaso finds himself, and who holds the post of Vicar of Christ, and has power to call assistance from every quarter for the cause committed to him. But Don Bernardino knows Pole's sentiments, and mode of proceeding; and although he might with a clear conscience detain Thomaso, who is willing to stay, yet will he not use violence in this matter by doing anything which is not quite satisfactory; and therefore answers Don Bernardino, desiring him to pray God for the revelation of what shall be most for his honour, and the welfare of Thomaso; and Bernardino's decision about his return, will always be to Pole's satisfaction.

Brussels, [September?].

[*Italian.*]

Sept.?

MS. St. Mark's
Library

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date of time
in MS.

949. QUEEN MARY to CARDINAL POLE.

Right Reverend Father in Christ, most faithful and well beloved
Cousin.

By her letters addressed to him before her last Parliament, recommended, amongst others, her faithful and beloved chaplain Master John Upton, Doctor in Theology, that the Pope might promote him to the Bishopric of Norwich, now vacant through [the appointment of] the reverend father Bishop of Ely. The Queen knows him to be a man learned and catholic, and one who fears God, and the sooner he is created Bishop of Norwich, [the sooner] will that Church be provided with a good pastor, very greatly to the Queen's pleasure; and so she prays God to have her good cousin in his blessed keeping.

Would have willingly written this letter in her own hand to her good cousin Pole, but has not the opportunity (*comodità*), so she does not doubt he will take this in good part.

[1554, September?]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.

Senato Mar,
v. xxxii. p. 169.

950. MOTION made in the SENATE for a Present to the AMBASSADOR from KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

It being opportune to evince towards Don Luis de Cordova, Envoy to the Signory from the most Serene King of England, such gratitude and munificence as it has always been customary to display towards representatives of other Princes, most especially as his Lordship is a person of quality, and very dear to the aforesaid most Serene King, be it therefore

Put to the ballot that the College be authorized to spend to the

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amount of 300 golden crowns of the Signory's moneys for a gold chain to be presented to the aforesaid Don Luis.

Ser Marco Antonius Venerio, LL.D., and Procurator, Sap. Cons.

Ser Hieronymus Superantio, Sap. T.F.

Ser Joannes Cornelio, Sap. Ordinum.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3. 1554, 11 October, in the College.

[Italian.]

Oct. 13.
Deliberazioni
Senato Secreta,
v. lxix. p. 51
tergo.

951. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

A few days ago, Don Luis de Cordova arrived in Venice to take possession of the Milanese for the most Serene King [of England]. On entering the Signory's presence, accompanied by Venetian noblemen and by the English ambassador resident with them, he presented credentials from his King, saying that he had charged Cordova to visit them in his name before presenting himself to any other Italian potentate, as his dearest and most esteemed friend, acquainting them with what is aforesaid.

Ayes, 156. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[Italian.]

Oct. 13.*
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

952. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Not having anything of great importance to communicate, it is a long while since he has written to the Pope, as to save him trouble, Pole gave all necessary information through his agent; and although at present he has not as much as he could wish to tell, it seems fitting to him to acquaint his Holiness first with a conversation held with the Bishop of Arras, and then with what he negotiated with the Emperor. On the 9th, when Arras went to visit him, (the Nuncio being present at the time) he said the Emperor had seen the letter which Pole sent him lately by his Auditor,* and that he was very well inclined towards this affair of the religion in England, as was becoming, and evident, by reason of his piety, and on account of the interests of the Low Countries, which are so connected with those of England, but that it was very necessary to come to details, and discuss the impediments and the means for removing them, concerning which the Emperor would very willingly listen to Pole. Replied that he did not doubt the Emperor's goodwill, of which he had always been most perfectly convinced, but that so far as his Legatine office was concerned, he had been sent to express the Pope's desire for the salvation (*salute*) of the realm, and his readiness to apply all such remedies as could proceed from papal authority; that Pole had nothing to do but to seek entrance, and that it appertained to those Princes who are on the spot (*i qualli sono sul fatto*) and have the government in their hands, to remove the obstacles. As the Bishop again said that Pole must descend

* In the manuscript this letter is misdated 24th September, but the Foreign Calendar shews that on the 26th September 1554 the Emperor was still at Arras, and did not come to Brussels till the 9th October. See also, date of Pole's letter to the Pope in Burnet's Collectanea, quoted by Froude, vol. vi. p. 264.

† See before, letter dated 28th September.

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CARDINAL POLE
TO POPE
JULIUS III.
(Oct. 13.)

to particulars, he rejoined that they must by no means proceed in the present case as they did with regard to the peace, when all parties remained in suspense (*stava sopra di se*), not choosing to declare themselves, the one merely endeavouring to discover the intentions of the other, by reason of their individual interests; whereas the cause now under discussion is common, the Pope and the Emperor having the same views about it, as also Arras and Pole, their ministers. The Bishop admitted what Pole said about the negotiation for peace, saying that in fact when treating it he (Arras) is always in arms, etc.,* but again told him nevertheless to ponder these impediments and discuss them with the Emperor; whereupon the Nuncio, turning towards Pole, said it was in fact necessary to come to these details, and so at length it was settled that they were all to ruminate them.

Subsequently, on the 11th, when Pole went to the Emperor, the Bishop of Arras again repeated to him the same expressions at the audience of his Majesty, both Arras and the Nuncio being present there.

After congratulating the Emperor on having freed his territory here from the curse of war, and that after so much mental and bodily toil he had returned in stronger and better health than on his departure, which showed that the Lord God had preserved him for greater feats, to the honour of his Majesty, and for the common weal, Pole commenced speaking about the letter written by him to the Emperor, and the reply given by the Bishop of Arras postponing the matter until the shortly expected return of his Majesty to Brussels. He then said that had he to treat this business with any other Prince of whose piety he might be less well convinced than he is of his Majesty's, which is evinced by so many passages both in his private and public life, he would seek to exhort him by all ways possible to embrace and favour this so holy a cause; but there being no need of this with the Emperor, especially as in this cause the honour of God is coupled with his Majesty's own advantage, and that of the most Serene King his son, Pole merely expected every assistance from him for the removal of the impediments which seem to be of two sorts, the one relating to the Catholic doctrine, in which the Pope could by no means show himself indulgent, as the matter relates to the faith, nor could he heal this disease, save by re-introducing the sound doctrine.

The other hindrance, Pole said, was the church property, whose usurpers knowing the severity of the ecclesiastical laws, were for this reason afraid to return to the obedience of the Church; in which matter, he added, the Pope could and was disposed to exercise his graciousness and indulgence. And first of all, as to the censures and penalties incurred, and the restitution of the fruits, which was of great importance, the Pope intended in both these cases to use great indulgence, freely remitting the whole, nor did he think of applying (*aplicar*) any part of that property either to himself, or to the Apostolic See, as apprehended by many, and as might reasonably be done on account of the injuries and losses incurred; but he would

* Con dir in effetto in trattar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto.

1554.

CARDINAL POLE
to POPE
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(Oct. 13.)

convert the whole to the service of God and the benefit of the realm, without the slightest regard for his private interest, and, relying on the piety of the sovereigns in question, would do them the honour to grant through his Legate* such favours as may seem fitting, according to the proposal and intercession of their Majesties, to those persons whom they shall consider worthy of them and fit to aid the cause of the religion.

The Emperor, in reply, thanked the Pope greatly, first of all acknowledging his goodwill, and saying that in truth his Holiness had done much, but that he himself, owing to the hindrance and occupation of the war, had been unable to attend to this matter as he could have wished, but would do so now, and had already written and sent to England to know better the state of affairs in this respect, and expected a reply shortly; and that they must consider well how far they can go in removing these impediments about the church property, which is the chief of them, as the Emperor knows by his experience in Germany; and he said that as for doctrine, men of this sort cared little, as they had no belief either one way or the other.†

His Majesty also said that this church property having been dedicated to God, they ought not thus to concede everything to those who held it; and that although Pole told him how far his authority extends, yet should he by no means acquaint others with the whole, and that it would be necessary to see the "brief of faculties" (*il breve delle facultà*) [dispensing powers] and to enlarge it where necessary.

To this Pole replied that he had already shown it to the Bishop of Arras, who made no remark; and suspecting this to be a road for delay, Pole told the Emperor that as according to report at Brussels, and as would be better known to his Majesty, Parliament was to meet shortly, great care should be taken lest it be held without deciding the matter of the obedience of the Church, as otherwise it would be a very great scandal for the whole world and injurious to the said cause; and that as the Queen, for the performance of so grand an act, had judged the union (*coniunzione*) with the King her husband to be necessary, because *non esset bonam mulierem esse solum*, so God having prospered this holy union (*coniunzione*), if the execution of this result (*effetto*), which is to be the commencement and foundation of all their actions, were to be deferred any longer, no way would remain for satisfying either God or man. The Emperor said that great regard (*rispetto*) should be had to the evil disposition of those interested in the business, and to the intense abhorrence of this term of "the obedience of the Church,"‡ and of this red hat, as also of the habit of the religious; and then turned to the Nuncio, speaking on this subject, about the friars brought from Spain by the King his son, who was advised to make them change their habits, although that was not done, nor was it fitting to do it. He also said how important popular tumult

* "Volesse far loro questo honore di fare per mezzo del suo Legato queste gratie," &c.

† "Disse che poco curavano questi tali non credendo nè all' una nè all' altra via."

‡ "Et quanto humil* (sic) [intensamente?] sia abborito questo nome dell' obbedientia della chiesa."

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convert the whole to the service of God and the benefit of the realm, without the slightest regard for his private interest, and relying on the duty of the sovereign in question, would do them the honor to grant through his Legation, such favours as may seem fitting according to the proposal and intention of their Majesty, to those persons whom they shall consider worthy of them and fit to aid the cause of the religion.

The Emperor in reply, thanked the Pope greatly, first of all acknowledging his goodness, and saying that in truth his Holiness had done much, but that he himself, owing to the distance and occupation of the war, had been unable to attend to this matter; he could have wished, but would do so now, and had already written and sent to England to know better the state of affairs in this respect, and expected a reply shortly; and that they must consider well how far they can go in removing these impediments about the church property, which is the chief of them, as the Emperor knows by his experience in Germany; and he said that as for doctrine, none of this sort cared little as they had no belief either one way or the other.

His Majesty also said that this church property having been dedicated to God, they ought not then to consider everything as theirs who held it; and that although he told him how far his authority extends, yet should he by no means separate others with the whole, and that it would be necessary to see the "rule of faculties" (il faut delle facultés) [dispensing powers] and to enlarge it when necessary.

To this Pope replied that he had already shown it to the Bishop of Arras, who made no remark; and suggesting this to be a road for delay, Pope told the Emperor that as regarding to report at Brussels, and as would be better known to his Majesty, Parliament was to meet shortly, great care should be taken that it be held without deciding the matter of the obedience of the Church, as otherwise it would be a very great scandal for the whole world and injurious to the end; and that as the Queen for the performance of so great an act had judged the matter [inconvenient] with the King her husband to be necessary, because now most famous authorities were asked, so God having prospered this holy union (conjunction), if the execution of this result (fruit), which is to be the commencement and foundation of all their actions were to be delayed any longer, no way would remain for satisfying either God or man. The Emperor said that great regard (respect) should be had to the evil disposition of those interested in the business, and to the intense abhorrence of this term of "the obedience of the Church," and of like hat, as also of the habit of the religion; and then turned to the Queen, speaking on this subject about the letters brought from Spain by the King his son, who was advised to make them change their habits, although that was not done, nor was it fitting to do it. He also said how important popular tumult

* "Videtur in hoc quod dicitur si hoc pariter ad idem Legatione quodammodo."
† "Dicitur in hoc quod dicitur si hoc pariter ad idem Legatione quodammodo."
‡ "Dicitur in hoc quod dicitur si hoc pariter ad idem Legatione quodammodo."

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See Apostolic should be cancelled as they seem to take umbrage at those words. They would also wish the brief to be dated after the consummation of the marriage; and as the King and Queen and the Emperor wish not to lose the opportunity of the present Parliament, which is to meet on the 12th of next month, they therefore send this courier in haste, that the brief may arrive in time; and the Bishop of Arras requested Pole to write this to the Pope, whom he prays to send the courier back as soon as possible, with such decision as he shall think fit, so that they may determine in time what can be done in this matter.

Brussels, 19th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

955. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

The Bishop of Arras, when visiting him on the 19th, said that from the Lieutenant of Amont [Simon Renard], Imperial ambassador in ordinary in England, who was expected at Brussels, Pole would hear more in detail the state of English affairs. On the morrow, the Lieutenant arrived,* and next day conferred a long while with the Emperor. Yesterday, he came to Pole, the Nuncio being present; and after presenting the letter from King Philip and Queen Mary in reply to his last insisting on admittance, the Lieutenant said he had been sent by their Majesties solely to give him account of past events, and of what was necessary at present; and, in a long and apposite discourse, beginning with the Queen's accession, narrated the impediments which had hitherto prevented her from executing her holy purpose of returning to the obedience and union of the Church; all which, in short, proceeded from the evil disposition of many interested persons, who, understanding that in the powers (*facultà*) given to Pole by the Pope with regard to church property, there were these words, "*componendi, transigendi*," &c., greatly suspected that they should be despoiled of all they possess. So their Majesties were induced to demand the extension of Pole's powers (*facultà*), knowing that when these opponents shall hear that he has ample authority to dispose of the church property, they will become less averse to return to the obedience of the See Apostolic and of his Holiness; and this was the first thing he had to propose in the name of their Majesties. He then said that three things remained for him to hear from Pole: one was, in what capacity he purposed making his entry; the second, the course he meant to pursue in using his powers, that is to say, whether he would exercise them of his own accord (*da me*) or communicate everything in the first place to their Majesties. The third inquiry was, whether Pole felt certain that the Pope would enlarge the powers as demanded, in which case their Majesties would leave it to Pole to go before the meeting of Parliament; but should he be doubtful of this, he must await at Brussels his Holiness' reply. These three points being decided, no further difficulty would remain.

* Renard arrived at Brussels on the Friday preceding the 23rd October. (See Foreign Calendar, date Brussels, 23rd October 1554, p. 131.)

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was, alluding moreover to the incessant evil offices of foreign enemies. Pole rejoined that to wait till all spontaneously became well disposed (*si disponessero*), and till every impediment was removed, would be to protract the conclusion for ever, as the parties concerned most especially desire nothing more than to continue in the present state having and holding what they possess. At length it was determined to await the return from England of the secretary Erasso, which will take place in a few days; and in the meanwhile Pole is to ponder these things, and announce the result to the Bishop of Arras.

[Brussels, 13th October?] 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

953. QUEEN MARY to CARDINAL POLE.

Good Cousin Pole.

Knows what great toil and how long a journey he has undergone, all which he still most patiently endures, though the performance of his holy legation has been hitherto impeded. The Queen not only regrets this, but being desirous of removing all cause for further delay, so that by God's grace matters being well prepared, Pole, with the hope of a good result, may soon come to the King her very dear lord and consort, and to her, she sends the present letter by the Lieutenant of Amont,* ambassador accredited to her by her very dear father the Emperor, to acquaint Pole with certain things on her behalf. Prays Pole to give him credence, as to the King and Queen themselves, arranging for whatever additional provision may be necessary. "And thus, good cousin, with my most cordial remembrances I commend you to the guardianship (*alla tutela*) of God omnipotent."

From our Palace of Westminster, 15th October 1554.

[*Italian, translated from the English.*]

Oct. 19.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

954. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last letter of the 14th [13th?] informed the Pope of all that he negotiated at his audience of the Emperor.

Now, at this second hour of the night, the Bishop of Arras, accompanied by the Nuncio and the Secretary Vargas, has come to tell him that by a courier who arrived from England a few hours ago, King Philip wrote that he had greatly exerted himself to induce the chief personages interested in the Church property, to consent to Pole's going to England, and that the whole difficulty consists in this, that Pole's powers (*facoltà*) concerning the disposal (*disposizione*) of this property, are not as ample as desired, and that to give universal satisfaction in this matter, it would be requisite for the Pope to send a new brief, in more ample form. Besides the words, "*componendi et transigendi*," there should be added, "*cedendi et remittendi*," according to the opinion and at the intercession, however (*pure*), of their Majesties, for the benefit and quiet of the realm and of the religion; and in addition to this, the clause about having recourse "*in arduis et gravibus*" to the

* Simon Renard. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index, and p. 131, October 23, 1554.)

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Pole said, in reply, that although for his own part he had acted with all patience, and with due regard for the will and opinion of the Emperor, beginning so long ago as when he left Italy and stopped at Dillengen, alluding also to his protracted sojourn at Brussels, yet did he confess that now the time seemed to him so mature for carrying into effect the becoming and pious will of Queen Mary and King Philip, that further delay seemed to him a very great fault, and fraught with manifest peril for the real welfare of England and of their Majesties, and that therefore he was moved to write so warmly to the King as he did in his last letters; and that on this last occasion it had been most agreeable to him to see still more clearly the piety of their Majesties.

With regard to the point proposed about the mode of his entry, Pole said that he represented three persons, one private as an Englishman by birth, the second as the ambassador of a great Prince, the third as Legate to restore the religion; and that although it would be fitting, most especially after such long delay, for him to enter as Legate, nevertheless, should it seem expedient, he might on his first entry dispense with this third person, and enter as the Pope's ambassador without the legatine emblems and ceremonies, which, as proposed by the Lieutenant [Renard], might subsequently be used in due season; and this he could do to the satisfaction of the Pope, who had provided and ordained everything to facilitate his entry.

To the second point, about using his powers, Pole said he did not intend to do anything about using them without the consent and will of their Majesties, having the same object in view as they have. Renard seemed satisfied; and touching the third point Pole said he had no doubt the Pope would use all graciousness to remove any impediment to his going, and therefore the sooner he was in England the more did Pole think it would be opportune, that he might speak and perform such offices as should seem expedient for the desired effect. So Renard came to the conclusion that having settled these three points no further difficulty remained, and that with this resolve he would return to England whenever Pole pleased, not having anything else to do, nor having come hither for any other purpose.

Renard then alluded to the arrangement made that at* where he was to land, two of the chief personages of the Court were to meet him; and besides this, for his greater personal safety, their Majesties chose him to be escorted by some of their cavalry (*da certi de i suoi cavalli*); and stated that it had been already said that Pole's residence was to be in the palace, or in some neighbouring place. In conclusion, he said that after acquainting their Majesties with the whole, he would return to him.

In the meanwhile, through a person who departs to-day from Brussels for Trent, Pole sends this, being certain that the Pope will derive consolation from the hope, that with God's assistance a good result may be obtained in this holy business; and having nothing more to communicate at present, he kisses the Pope's most holy

* Blank in manuscript.

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feet, praying God long to preserve him for the service of his holy Church.

Brussels, 23rd October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of
time in MS.

956. CARDINAL POLE to MESSER BERNARDINO and his Brethren.

Announces the death of their brother Messer Bortolomeo (*sic*) [Thomaso?], whom he loved as a father. Has thought fit to give them this advice, although unpleasing, yet considering that by the will of God he had arrived at such an age that prolonged years could not but have been burdensome to him, and that this his end was such as to give sure hope, that by Divine mercy he has passed to life blessed and eternal, they have all reason to comfort themselves for their loss, which is for him a gain.

Although Pole has reason on his own private account to lament this loss, he would not have failed to incur it on theirs,* after enjoying the fruit of his companionship for so many years, with as much satisfaction to Pole as could have been derived by him from the dearest kinsman he had in the world. He however consoles himself with the aforesaid consolation, which will increase when he hears that Bernardino is consoled by the same cause, and on any occasion when Pole can oblige Bernardino, he may imagine that their brother Thomaso is alive in Pole, and for such he offers himself heartily, praying God to comfort Bernardino.

Brussels, October ?

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

957. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last of the 23rd announced the arrival at Brussels of Renard, and what he said to Pole in the name of King Philip and Queen Mary, giving him sure hope of his speedy departure. Yesterday Renard returned to him, the Nuncio being present; and when Pole thanked Renard, alluding to his obligations for the sure hope he had brought him that after such long delay Pole would be enabled to perform his legation, Renard replied that he not only brought him hope, but a certainty (*ma cosa fatta*), and that having acquainted the Emperor with what had passed between them, his Majesty remained well satisfied with everything, and Renard was of opinion that Pole could continue making his arrangements for the journey, most especially as he was content to go in the form arranged at their last conference; and that at any rate he (Renard) would depart to-morrow, with the hope that on his arrival in England their Majesties would immediately determine to call him, sending a personage as far as Brussels to accompany him, and giving orders for him to be met on his landing in England, as written in Pole's last letter; and even should it be thought advisable to wait until they could call him with the consent of

* "*Benchè se per nostro privato rispetto si havessimo a doler, io non ne haverei mancato, causa di voi.*" In the former letter to Don Bernardino it is seen that the monks to whom this present letter was addressed had urged Friar Thomaso, who seems to have been an Englishman, to desert Pole.

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Parliament, the Queen would so contrive (*faria tale opera*) that if not all, at least the majority of the chief members, would vote for his being called, so that even should a part oppose the measure, the majority would suffice for calling him. Renard then said much about what the Queen had done, and still continues doing in several ways, to this effect; and assured Pole that all would succeed well, and to the honour of God and to the satisfaction of the Pope.

Pole having then congratulated himself as becoming, said that he thanked the Divine goodness for having opened the way for King Philip and Queen Mary, and the Emperor, to do so worthy and glorious an act, and one so advantageous for Christendom, and that he considered this a greater and more praiseworthy exploit than if he had rescued Jerusalem from the infidels; nor could Pole but greatly congratulate himself on being employed in this matter as the Pope's minister and instrument. But as at the first conference, and at this second one likewise, the only doubt suggested by Renard was that of the extension of the powers, Pole said that he was merely anxious about this, that so noble and holy a work should be nobly and holily negotiated and accomplished; and how could it be so were they to reduce the business to an offer of the church property, and thus make, as it were, a purchase of the obedience? for which he said plainly that neither should he be a good agent, nor did he think the Pope would ever be induced to make it; on which Pole dilated much, saying that such a course (*modo*) would be neither agreeable to God nor advantageous for England, and very scandalous in the sight of the world.

Renard admitted the truth of this, and said that the extension of the power was demanded merely for the purpose of removing all umbrage from the parties concerned, who were apprehensive of Pole's molesting them at this commencement, having been already rendered suspicious by those words in the brief *transigendi [et?] componendi rem*, lest he establish an ecclesiastical court (*un tribunal*) in England, and summon them immediately to give account and compound, and rigorously deprive them of the property they held; some little umbrage being also taken at the clause which "*in gravioribus causis*" transferred judgment from Pole to the See Apostolic, declaring that if the Pope had freely referred everything to Pole, promising without further restriction to consider his acts valid, there would have been no difficulty about admitting him.

Pole rejoined that the Pope had already done this by another bull, promising in general terms "*bona fide in verba Pontificis*" to approve and ratify whatever Pole did. Renard expressed a wish to see it, and after perusing the document expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it, saying that if this had been known previously, it would have been unnecessary to send the courier lately despatched to his Holiness, and that it would be well for Pole to show it to the Emperor; and thus ended the conversation between Pole and Renard.

Yesterday, when Pole had audience of the Emperor and took the Nuncio with him for the affairs of Sienna, he spoke to his Majesty in Pole's name about this bull, and the Emperor seemed glad to hear of it, asking Pole for a copy of it for transmission to the Queen, to whom, however, Pole sent it as long ago as when he was

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at Dillingen, but perhaps then they did not hold it in the same account as they seem to do now. According to report the course which they intend to pursue in this matter is by means of the bull, or of such power as the Pope shall send Pole, to endeavour to convince the parties concerned that he by no means intends to compel them to relinquish the property they possess; but as the King and Queen find themselves in the same case as the other holders of this property, and to a greater extent, and as without them Pole could do nothing, it is requisite that both for themselves and the others their Majesties should propose some means whereby to satisfy everybody, and by their proclaiming this intention and promise the opposition will consent without repugnance to the return to the obedience;* and may it please God to grant this, and to favour all the rest of this his cause, for the entire consolation of the Pope and the whole Church. When on the spot, should it please God that he go thither, Pole will be better able to know everything, as Renard himself also says, and Pole will then give account accordingly to the Pope, whose most holy feet he kisses with all due respect, praying the Lord God long to preserve him.

Brussels, 26th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27.

958. CARDINAL POLE to QUEEN MARY.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Has received the gracious letters of the Queen and King Philip delivered to him by Renard, the Imperial ambassador at their court, in reply to Pole's former letter about the performance of his legation. This reply, and the verbal communication made to him in their name by Renard, have given him no little comfort, at a moment when in truth he had most need of it, being much harassed, not indeed on his own account, as it becomes him to take patience, as by God's grace he does, and always has done hitherto, but by reason of the great inconvenience which seemed likely to ensue had he been recalled after his frequent appeals to the Queen (which he ought to have made to the Pope) without obtaining access to her presence after so long a period, and without receiving any messenger from her, nor any demonstration which could give satisfaction to whom it was most due. This recall of himself individually would not have been so great a matter, but for the consequent delay in laying the foundation of the quiet of the realm and of the Queen's throne, which can never be well established unless the body of the realm is well established and united in that spiritual obedience which is professed by both their Majesties who are its head.

Nor does the delay of this so necessary a result harass Pole so much on account of the dissatisfaction which the Pope might reasonably feel, though Pole has performed every good office, alleging the same arguments used by Renard with Pole, as because he saw clearly that, although the Pope continued to take everything in good part, their Majesties' authority (*stato*) could not but receive very great detriment; and, therefore, the Queen having sent such a personage for the settlement of this affair, and for the Emperor's

* Et che con questa intentione et promissione siano per contentarsi senza ripugnanza.

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better acquaintance with it, as also by means of Renard's statement to enable Pole to comfort the Pope with the hope that the object of his legation will at length be effected, he is convinced that their Majesties have been moved thus to do by the Holy Spirit, both in the choice of the messenger, than whom no one could be more suitable for the purpose, and by reason of the opportune moment of his mission.

In reply to the announcement in the name of their Majesties, in like manner as he has limited himself to a mere letter to the King to avoid troubling him, so has he thought fit to give the Queen a more detailed account by means of his agents (*de miei*), whom he requests her to receive graciously as usual, and to give them full credence for whatever they may tell her in his name; and thus does he end, praying God that in like manner as to Pole's very great joy he heard that his Divine Majesty has granted the Queen the grace of conceiving fruit, in her corporeal womb, rendering her the mother of an heir to the temporal kingdom, so may he also give her the grace to be mother of those who are heirs to a kingdom eternal, of whom it is written in the name of God "*Ego dixi dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes*;" so the Queen may with truth be styled *mater deorum*, leading the children of God to his unity and obedience; and this is that heavenly fruit with which the Queen having been already long pregnant in her mind and spirit, now that the fruit (*parto*) is mature, it is expected of her that she should produce it in the light and to the glory of God, and for the consolation of all Christendom, and the welfare (*salute*) of England, which may the Divine goodness and mercy speedily grant.

Brussels, 27th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27.

959. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP of ENGLAND.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Printed in vol. 4,

pp. 168, 169.

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

etc.

The King has given great proof of his pious wish to restore Catholicism, not merely by answering Pole's letter on the subject, but by moreover sending the Imperial ambassador in England (Simon Renard) to acquaint him with what has been done, and with what has been omitted in the matter, and to discuss the means for effecting the desired result. Renard informed him of the state of affairs, and of King Philip's piety. Pole therefore thanks God for having given the Queen, who of herself would have been unable to accomplish what she desired, so powerful an auxiliary to anticipate her wishes. Of the commissions given to Renard some must be referred to the Pope, others the Pope has been pleased to refer to Pole. The reply to these last will be conveyed by Renard, and Pole hopes that the King's policy in England (*ut istud Regnum sic administret*) may prove advantageous for his other realms likewise, and profitable for the whole Church, as will certainly come to pass if his Majesty succeeds in completing what he has commenced.

Brussels, 27th October 1554.

[*Latin, 35 lines.*]

1554.

Oct. 28.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

960. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Is in the habit of communicating with Morone, and through him with others also, respecting matters he has most at heart, as with that lord and friend given him by God, with whom he can speak freely of everything, as he will do at present, telling him in the first place the present state of the affairs of his legation to England, which seem to commence prospering, as Morone will hear in part from the letters which are being sent to Messer Gio. Francesco, and in part from those of Pole himself, expressing his hopes and fears.

His hope is that England will return to the obedience of the See Apostolic, and that this will be settled in the present Parliament; which hope he rests not merely on the piety of Queen Mary and King Philip, but also on the words uttered by the Imperial ambassador in England, who was sent to Brussels by the Emperor with the reply to the letters written by Pole to his Majesty. When Pole said freely to Renard that in case the article of the obedience were not settled in this Parliament, he should have no more oil of patience in his flask, and would no longer remain waiting, neither did he believe the Pope would compel him to do so; Renard thereupon rejoined that he must not have any doubt of this, as should England not reunite herself to the Church, King Philip and Queen Mary could not long hold the crown; so if the return (*la reddition*) were not to take place on other accounts it must at least be effected for their advantage. In addition to this, Pole seeing that their Majesties have commenced urging him to go, doing the like also by the Pope, he thinks he may believe that they intend soon to come to some settlement. This is what he hopes.

On the other hand, his fear proceeds from the means deemed necessary by their Majesties for arriving at this effect, it appearing that they choose the church property to be conceded to those who hold it, to which mode Pole is averse, and Morone will see what answer he made to Renard on the subject in his letters to Messer Gian Francesco; but it is true that when discussing this topic with him, Pole modified his reply, saying that he would be content not to speak about this property at present, and assure its possessors that he would not molest them, as they professed to apprehend by reason of those words in the papal brief, "*transigendi, componendi*," etc. Renard added that in addition to this they might rely on not being molested, in virtue of the ancient statute *Præmunire*; so should Pole in his legatine capacity serve summonses on any of the parties concerned (*onde quando io come legato volessi far citare alcuno di essi interessati*), they could not be compelled [to appear] without the royal consent, so that they were guaranteed by the promises both of Pole and of their Majesties. Renard, therefore, inferred that if at this commencement Pole went as Papal ambassador to congratulate their Majesties, and with the pretext of the other commission about the peace, he might be enabled to perform many good offices, and so conciliate the parties concerned (*gli interessati*), who, according to Renard, are quite determined to obtain (*sic*) [retain?] what they hold (*ostinatissimi in voler ottener sic*)

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to CARDINAL
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quel che tengono); but he said, nevertheless, that Pole's presence might be beneficial, most especially with the Queen (*con la Regina*), who is the person the most interested of any, both because she has a good conscience and also because she trusts much in Pole, but that in whatever way accomplished, the most important matter is the return to the obedience, on which the salvation of so many souls depends.

At this conversation the Nuncio was present, and although silent throughout he also spoke at the close, saying in substance that he rejoiced at the arrangements for Pole's going (*andata*) being so far advanced, as he anticipated the best result from it; and with regard to this he expatiated at great length on the graciousness of the Pope, who would be ready to give the Church property rather than "the obedience" should be in the least delayed on this account, and said that one single soul was worth more than all the property in the world; coming to the conclusion that provided the door was opened to Pole to go and establish "the obedience," no difficulty whatever would be made by the Pope on account of the Church property, and that he would give him the most ample power in this matter, without limitation of any sort; which words caused Renard to be yet more satisfied, though, to say the truth, Pole would not have wished at this first conference to promise so largely, but on considering the matter afterwards it seemed to him that the Nuncio spoke prudently, to mitigate somewhat what might have seemed to them Pole's scrupulousness in this particular.

Morone now sees to what pass the affair has been brought, and what there is to hope and to fear. The hope that in this Parliament they may enact the return to the obedience, consists in what Morone has heard, namely, that the parties concerned will not oppose the measure, being certain that he has the fullest possible power (*facoltà*), and moreover that he is unable to do anything against them, without the will and consent of the King and Queen, who are more interested than the rest of the parties concerned in the business, and might promise them what they please.

Pole's fear consists chiefly in this, that although the "return" may be stipulated without any compact on his part, yet subsequently when, in accordance with his office, he acquaints their Majesties and the others also with their duty in this matter of Church property, whilst on the one hand it may be hoped from the piety of King Philip and Queen Mary, that they will determine to do (most especially with what is in their own hands) what becomes their obligation to God; yet in case from other human considerations this end be not attained, Pole for his own part would greatly fear lest they and the kingdom, although it return to the obedience, may incur the displeasure of God, which he dreads more than the detention of Church property by private individuals.*

* Facendo io da poi come è debito mio intendere alle Maestà loro et agli altri ancora, il debito loro in questa parte de' beni. Da un canto si può sperar nella pietà delle loro Maestà che habbino a risolversi di fare, massime di quel che è in man loro, cosa che convengli con la pietà et obbligo che hanno con Dio, ma quando per altri humani rispetti non si venisse a questo fine, io per me dubitarei forte della disgratia di Dio, sopra esse et quel regno, ancora che si fusse tornato alla obedientia, non temendo tanto per rispetto di quello che non si potesse condurre gli altri privati a fare.

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MORONE
(Oct. 28.)

Morone, therefore, sees that matters being in their present state, Pole is compelled at this commencement to acquiesce and be silent, in order not to render the negotiation difficult, announcing in general terms the best possible intention to everybody.

Touching the Church property held by the Crown, Renard said to Pole spontaneously that the Queen was conscientious, so it might be hoped she will do what is becoming; and Pole hopes that thus may it please God, but declares that should his exhortations with regard to this matter not take effect with her, neither will he on his part accept place in England, even should they give him a moiety of the kingdom, still less the see of Canterbury,* which Renard urged him to accept before going thither, as it would greatly promote the Queen's cause, and his friends in England write to him [to do so], that he may sit in Parliament and have a vote there; but until they return to the obedience it would not seem to him by any means becoming to allow himself to be bound by any charge to remain there, although otherwise he would not refuse any toil or trouble the Pope might be pleased to assign him.

Requests Morone to urge the Pope to have prayers offered up in all the monasteries and religious establishments at Rome for the success of his legation, and to have alms distributed.

Brussels, 28th October 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 57,
tergo.

961. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Emperor has given his son, the most Serene King of England, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and of the Duchy of Milan, of which his Majesty has sent to take possession.

Ayes, 164. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

962. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

By his last, of the 7th, wrote to Cardinal del Monte, what the most Serene Queen had written to him, and sent word by a messenger whom he despatched in haste for this purpose.

On the 8th, the English ambassador at Brussels [Sir John Masone],† delivered to him letters from the Queen, confirming what is aforesaid, and charging him to inform the Emperor that now the time appearing to them mature for calling him to treat and conclude in the present Parliament, the return of England to the union and obedience of the Church, they proposed both these matters to the whole body of their Council, whose unanimous consent was given so readily, that the members seemed really to have been

* Ma dico bene che se le mie eshortationi in questa parte non trovassero luogo appresso di Lei, non sono ne anco io, per accettar luogo in Inghilterra se ben mi fusse dato la metà del regno, non che l'Arcivescovato di Cantuaria, il quale questo ambasciatore mi sollicitava che io volessi accettar' inanzi che io andassi là.

† See Foreign Calendar 1554, November 9, No. 290, p. 136.

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to the POPE.
(Nov. 11.)

moved by the Holy Spirit; and that as compensation for such long delay, they thought fit to honour his coming (*andata*) by sending to him, as far as Brussels, two Lords of the Council, one of whom was to be Lord Paget, and the other the Master of Horse [Sir Edward Hastings], brother of the Earl of Huntingdon,* with some other noblemen and gentlemen, who, as they were to depart post wise on the 26th instant, expected to arrive at Brussels on the 30th; but that should the Emperor dismiss Pole previously, their Majesties wished him not to await their arrival at Brussels, but to be accompanied by the English ambassador [Sir John Masone] until he met them, in order that he might be present, if not at the commencement of the Parliament, which was to meet on the 11th instant, at least shortly afterwards, to assist this cause of the reconciliation (*reduttione*).

On the very day of the letters' arrival the ambassador having reported accordingly to the Emperor, presenting also letters from King Philip, to the same effect, his Majesty evinced approval of everything; but with regard to Pole's departure, as the arrival of these noblemen was to take place so shortly, he determined that it would be better to wait for them, and that on the 10th or 11th instant, he would give him audience.

On the 9th the Bishop of Arras came to Pole, telling him he was sent by the Emperor; he exulted and rejoiced (*essultava e giubilava*), and holding in his hand two letters addressed by King Philip to his Imperial Majesty, he narrated their contents to him, thus: that the King having heard of the Emperor's indisposition sent him such news as would, he hoped, alleviate all indisposition; and then made two demands of Pole—the one, that he would be pleased at this commencement to go without the emblems (*le insegne*) of the legation, although both the King Philip and the Queen would acknowledge him as Legate subsequently in public and in due season; the other, that with these Lords and gentlemen, he should not descend to any particulars about the disposal of the Church property, but merely announce good intentions to all in general terms.

Pole replied that King Philip had in truth great reason to congratulate himself on the carrying into effect of this legation, on which depended the confirmation and seal of all the felicitations hitherto offered him, and that he (Pole) was aware of owing this great obligation to God for this opportunity for serving his Divine Majesty, his Holiness, the See Apostolic, his own country, and King Philip and Queen Mary, as also his Imperial Majesty, at one and the same time; adding that in the affair of this his legation, the like had occurred as is wont to happen in all the affairs of God, which, causing at the commencement some dissatisfaction and bitterness, produce in the end the sweetest fruit. And touching the two demands—with regard to the first, about going without the emblems of his legation, Pole said that their Majesties deeming it expedient so to

* See Foreign Calendar, date November 5, 1554, Nos. 255, 286, 287. Instructions to Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings.

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to the POPE.
(Nov. 11.)

do, he would obey them, not unwillingly (*io non mal volentieri obedirei*); and as to the second, about not descending to particulars, he would most willingly do so, seeing that the arrival of these noblemen was expected, and in fact took place this morning.

In the afternoon they went to the Emperor, sending in the first place to apologise to Pole for not having come to him immediately, as they were tired, but that this evening they would come to sup with him, as they did, presenting him with credentials from King Philip and Queen Mary, in whose name they apologised for this long delay in admitting him, and then told of the great unanimity of the whole Council, both in calling him at this time, and in approving that in the present Parliament it should be treated to conclude the return to the unity and obedience of the Church; and said that for the satisfaction of the parties concerned, it was merely desired that the Pope should give him all ample power about the disposal of the Church property (which power they believed had been received by him subsequently), and that without it, even should the return to the obedience be concluded, as they expected it would be by Parliament owing to the good choice made of its members, there nevertheless would be great difficulty and trouble in carrying it into effect.

They then spoke about his going as Cardinal and ambassador from the Pope, saying that this was done to avoid prejudicing the authority of the Parliament, as would be the case were he to appear as Legate, before the enactment of the obedience.

To this Pole replied that they may be very certain that the Pope bears, and ever will bear her Majesty (*quella Maestà*) and all of them as much affection as can be desired from a most loving father towards his children; and that as to the mode of his going, being convinced by their Majesties' goodness, and perceiving this their consent, he did not doubt that they acted thus solely because it was deemed expedient for the success of the cause.

In conclusion, they strongly urged Pole, in their Majesties' name, to go as soon as he could conveniently, saying that King Philip by no means chooses the Parliament to commence debating about the religion until after Pole's arrival there, and they declare the Emperor will not delay despatching him; so he thinks of obtaining audience to-morrow, and departing the day after, should it please God, who he hopes will soon comfort the Pope by gratifying his holy wish for the welfare of England; and thus may his Divine Majesty deign to do, granting continued prosperity to the Pope, whose most holy feet Pole kisses.

Brussels, 11th November 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12.

Original Letter-
Book of Agostino
Barbarigo in the
Venetian
Archives.

963. GIOVANNI CAPELLO and AGUSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Barbarigo wrote from Lyons on the 28th ult., and, continuing his journey, arrived on the 9th instant in Paris, where yesterday he and Capello had audience of the King, and then went to the Constable, who told them that next year the King would be beforehand with

1554.

the Emperor, and send him the Constable in advance, and that Capello, returning to Italy, will find horse and foot on their march towards Piedmont; nor have they anything to fear from England, as on her finger the Queen has two rings, with which she was espoused twice, first on her accession when she was crowned and confirmed the treaty with France, and secondly when she became the wife of the present King of Spain, which marriage, it may be supposed, she will not consider binding, as she is, moreover, supposed not to have money;* and that his most Christian Majesty had remained a month here in Paris, not for his amusement, but to make such preparations as were necessary. Capello has taken leave of the King and Queen and the whole Court.

Paris, 12th November 1554.

[Italian.]

Nov. 22.
Original Letter-
Book of Agostino
Barbarigo in the
Venetian
Archives.

964. AGUSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

His predecessor (Capello) departed on the 15th. On his way to the French Court, Barbarigo met several men-at-arms and light-horse, going towards Piedmont, [*and was told at Turin that they purposed soon making some notable attempt, and hoped to succeed.*]†

Has seen a letter from England, dated the 7th instant, announcing the departure of Lord Paget and another personage to meet Cardinal Pole, to whom, however, Queen Mary had written, desiring him to set out for England without awaiting their arrival; and the writer considered it certain that, when he wrote, the Cardinal had departed, for the purpose, as he (the writer) supposed, of attending this new Parliament.‡

Paris, 22nd November 1554.

[Italian.]

Nov. 24.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta)
v. lxi., p. 62,
tergo.

965. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By the last advices from Brussels, understand that the Emperor's army, having well fortified New Hesdin, were to raise the camp on the 5th instant, and march towards a certain border castle near Montreuil, which had been well fortified and provisioned by the French, who were in great force there; so it was said the Imperial army would do nothing more this year. The French advices tell them that besides a good number of German and Gascon infantry which the French are marching into Piedmont, with men-at-arms and light-horse, his most Christian Majesty is also sending a number of Switzers with orders to his General, Monsieur de Brissac, to go against the Duke of Florence, both to attack his territory and to raise the siege of Sienna.

* Et che è da creder che non haverà per fermo il predetto sponsalizio, non havendo anche sì come si giudicava danari.

† Paragraph bracketed in letter-book and ciphered in the despatch.

‡ The writs went out on the 6th October and Parliament met on the 12th November (See Froude, vol. vi. pp. 260, 268, ed. 1860).

1554.

It is heard from England that the King and Queen are in London, and his Majesty's coronation was delayed; and, according to report, the King will go to his father, the Emperor, not having seen him since he came from Spain.

The siege of Sienna by the forces of the Duke of Florence continues, and they have taken the towns of Casola and Monte Rotondo in the Maremma of Sienna.

Ayes, 190. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Printed in
vol. 5, pp. 1-4,

"Epistolarum
Reginaldi
Poli," etc.

966. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Gives account of the ceremony performed on St. Andrew's Day for the return of England into the bosom of the Church. It took place in full Parliament in the presence of the sovereigns with such universal consent and applause, that when at the close Pole gave absolution by blessing the congregation, there was a spontaneous and repeated shout of "Amen." Bestows exuberant praise on Philip and Mary. Philip is the spouse of Mary, but treats her so deferentially as to appear her son, thus giving promise of the best result. Mary has spiritually generated England, before giving birth to that heir, of whom there is very great hope (*cujus in spe maxima sumus*). Gratitude is due to God, to the Pope, and to the Emperor, for concerting so holy a marriage; it remains for the Pope (according to the intention notified by his Nuncio at the Imperial Court) to reform what time has vitiated in the Roman Church, and then may it be said, "Put off [O Jerusalem] the garment of mourning and vexation and cast about thee [a double garment of] righteousness," &c. This alone remains to complete the joy of his Holiness and of the Universal Church.

London, 30th November 1554.

[*Latin, 61 lines.*]

Dec. 6.

Original
Letter Book

of Agostino
Barbarigo,
in the Venetian
Archives.

967. AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On leaving Blois, the King went for four days to d'Anet, the seat of Madame de Valentinois (Diane de Poitiers), and was to be at St. Germain yesterday, so the writer intending to go to Poissy to-morrow to be nearer the Court, writes the last news before his departure from Paris.

The Prothonotary de Noailles, brother of the French ambassador in England, arrived thence at the Court lately, on his own private business, as supposed, and perhaps with orders from Queen Mary to persevere in the performance of such offices, as proceed invariably from her wish for a good understanding between the Emperor and King Henry. He remained two days in Paris, and then went to the Court. Will endeavour to learn something more about the matter, although the Cardinal of Lorraine said that by no means was the agreement to be any longer discussed, or thought of.

Paris, 6th December 1554.

[*Italian.*]

1554.

Dec. 11.

Original Letter
Book of
Agostino
Barbarigo in the
Venetian
Archives.

968. AGUSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France,
to the DOGE and SENATE.

Audience of the most Christian King having been appointed me for the day before yesterday, I went first by invitation to dine with the Constable, and after communicating the advices to him, and when he had asked me if I knew where the Turkish fleet was, he said he would also tell me his news. He commenced by saying that the Emperor was at Brussels in his usual house in the garden, (*nella solita sua casa et giardino*), with the gout in his hand, according to report, [*though nothing could ever be said for certain about his Majesty's bad or good health, as he represented himself sick or sound according to his pleasure and convenience*];* and that the Duke of Savoy was going to England to perform a loving and complimentary office with King Philip, on his own private account, which may explain the report current at the court lately, although the writer did not allude to it, doubting its authenticity, that the Imperial troops were mustering to ravage France again under the command of the Duke. He then added that England had resumed her obedience to the Church of Rome, and that it might be hoped affairs would proceed from good to better, with God's assistance, and through the address of Cardinal Pole. [*Inquired whether, as he (Barbarigo) understood, the fortress constructed at Hesdin had been in part destroyed. The Constable replied that a wall had fallen down, that they could retake the place whenever they chose, and that Barbarigo would soon see it in their power; and putting his hand to his heart, he said, You may believe it on my authority.*]* Talking thus, he introduced me to the most Christian King, to whom I in like manner communicated the advices, and he made me repeat where Sultan Solymán was, and at what distance, [*saying that every now and then he attacked the Sophy, but with no profit, as he was strong and powerful*],† asking me also how long he had been on the present expedition; and his Majesty having told me moreover what I had already heard from the Constable about the affairs of the religion in England, I took leave of him, and went to visit Madame de Valentinois.

There has arrived in Paris an ambassador from Portugal, who is going straight to England to congratulate King Philip, as told me yesterday by the Portuguese ambassador resident in France, who came to visit me, and has in like manner returned here to the court.

Poissy, 11th December 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

969. CARDINAL POLE to KING HENRY II. of FRANCE

It having pleased the Divine mercy and goodness to bring to the desired end the return (*la reductione*) of England to the unity of the Church, and obedience of the See Apostolic, Pole begins to have greater hope of operating more successfully according to the commis-

* Paragraph bracketed in letter-book and ciphered in despatch.

† Bracketed in letter-book and ciphered in despatch.

1554.

sion received from his Holiness to seek peace between King Henry and the Emperor, most especially seeing the first negotiation brought to its due end by those noble means which he always thought and hoped were most adapted to that end.

Is therefore now induced to write to his most Christian Majesty, to congratulate him on this great work of God, accomplished so much to the benefit and consolation of the Christain race, knowing that by reason of his piety, it cannot but cause him great pleasure, as evinced by his Majesty in his conversation with Pole, who has the like desire to serve both France and the Emperor, and also the common weal, in this other legation, as, should the opportunity be afforded him, he hopes will be known by facts; and with all due respect he kisses his most Christian Majesty's hands.

From London, the 14th December 1554.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 68,
tergo.

970. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with the EMPEROR.

By letters from their ambassador with the most Serene King and Queen of England, having heard of the final decision formed by the Magnifico the Parliament of that kingdom to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and to reunite the English Church to the Roman and universal Church, the pleasure and consolation caused them by this news was very great; so in the most loving form of words he can devise, he is to congratulate the Emperor in their name on this so fortunate and important an event; and knowing that it proceeds from the sage foresight (*savio avedimento*) and prudent counsel of his Majesty, to his eternal glory, they therefore choose to hope that the entire realm will persevere in this obedience and reconciliation, through the good and just government of the most Serene King and Queen, and that the affairs of the kingdom will proceed with such quiet and tranquillity as becoming so grand a conversion (*riduttione*) and renewal (*renovatione*), and that with this example, those of bad opinion (*di mala opinion*) may be brought back to the true and holy religion, to the glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and increase and exaltation of his holy faith. Is not to omit performing the same office with the Bishop of Arras, and such other personages of the Court as he shall think fit, in declaration of the Signory's goodwill, and of the satisfaction derived by them from the Emperor's prosperity.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 5. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxix. p. 69,
tergo.

971. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

By letters from their ambassador with the most Serene King and Queen of England have heard, to their great content and satisfaction of the decision formed in the Magnifico the Parliament of that realm, to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and of his Holiness, and to re-unite that Church to the Roman and Universal Church, so earnestly and by such general consent

1534

also received from his Holiness to seek peace between King Henry and the Emperor, most especially seeing the first negotiation brought to its end by those noble means which he always thought and hoped were most adapted to that end.

Is therefore now inclined to write to the most Christian Majesty, to congratulate him on this great work of God, accomplished so much to the benefit and consolation of the Christian race, knowing that by reason of his piety, it cannot but cause him great pleasure, as evinced by his Majesty in his conversation with Pope, who has the like desire to serve both France and the Emperor, and also the common weal, in this other legation, as already the opportunity is afforded him, he knows will be known by facts; and with all due respect he places his most Christian Majesty's hands.

From London, the 14th November 1534

[Initials]

670. The Duke and Duchess to the Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

By letters from their ambassador with the most Christian King and Queen of England, having heard of the first decision formed by the Magistrate of that Kingdom to return to the Catholic Church to the use of the Apostolic See, and to renounce the English Church, the pleasure and consolation caused them by this news was very great; so in the most loving form of words he can devise he is to congratulate the Emperor in their name on this so fortunate and happy event, and knowing that it proceeds from the king's foresight (and wisdom) and prudent counsel of his Majesty, to his eternal glory, they therefore choose to hope that the same result will pervade in this decision and reconciliation through the good and just government of the most Christian King and Queen, and that the allies of the Kingdom will proceed with such quiet and tranquillity as becoming to grand a conversion (and renewal) and renewal (renewal) and that with this example those of bad opinion (of bad opinion) may be brought back to the true and holy religion to the glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ and increase and exaltation of his holy faith. Is not to omit mentioning the same office with the Bishop of Arras, and such other persons of the Court as he shall think fit in declaration of the Emperor's goodwill, and of the satisfaction derived by them from the Emperor's piety.

At the 17th Nov. 1534.

[Initials]

671. The Duke and Duchess to the Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

By letters from their ambassador with the most Christian King and Queen of England have heard of the great content and satisfaction of that Kingdom to return to the Catholic Church, and of his Holiness and to renounce the English Church, so earnestly and by such general consent

Dec. 15.
Delivered
Benedict (Benedict)
v. 1534 p. 55
large

Dec. 15.
Delivered
Benedict (Benedict)
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large

1554.

(*grande consenso*), as to cause them infinite pleasure and consolation, as for an event intensely desired by them. They therefore desire him to congratulate the Pope in their name on so auspicious and fortunate a result, which is by so much the more to their satisfaction and agreeable from its taking place in his pontificate, to his immortal glory; it being their hope that not only will all England persevere in this obedience and reconciliation, but that, with her example, the Catholic faith and religion will so much the more prevail and increase to the honour and glory of their Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ.

Ayes, 158. Noes, 3. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxi. p. 70,
tergo.

972. The DOGE and SENATE to the "BAILLO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Right Reverend Cardinal Pole had arrived in London, being sent by the Pope as Legate to the King and Queen, and in the Parliament-general, he being present there, it was decided for the kingdom to return to the Catholic faith, and everything passed off quietly, to the universal satisfaction; which advices he is to communicate as usual.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxi. p. 68.

973. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have read with agreeable satisfaction his letters of the 28th ult. and 1st instant, concerning the decision of the High Court of Parliament (*in quel Magnifico Parlamento*) to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and re-unite the English Church to the Roman and Universal Church. To congratulate their Majesties on so grand and auspicious an event.

Desire him also to perform the like office with the Right Reverend Legate, the Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Chancellor, and the other Lords of the Council, as shall seem fitting to him.

Resolved, to send for the English ambassador into the College, and to address him in conformity with what is aforesaid.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxi., p. 71,
tergo.

974. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME.

To congratulate the Pope on the return of the realm of England to the true Christian religion, and the pious reconciliation effected by that Church with the Roman and Universal Church, and also with the Holy See.

Ayes, 167. No, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

1554.

Dec. 24.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

p. 119, tergo.

975. FRAGMENT, without name of Writer, or of the person to whom addressed.

Postscript,—Yesterday, the same lords and judges returned, and with much difficulty it was at length settled that all the laws made at the time of the schism against the Papal authority should be abrogated thus: that in the Act of Parliament, all those [laws] which they have been able to collect, are to be specified, and to remove all difficulty, they have placed at the end a general repeal (*derogazione*) of all the others that may be found to this effect; thus deciding (*concludendo*) that his Holiness and the See Apostolic be restored to that same authority compatible with the supremacy of this kingdom, and all its dominions, which it exercised and was allowed to exercise in the first twenty years of the reign of Henry VIII., that is to say before the schism; and that the Church property is to remain in the hands of its present English possessors (*et che nel stabilimento dei beni che pertenivano, tenuti hora da questi del regno, che si ha da stare*): the Parliament inserting the petitions in this matter presented to Cardinal Pole (*per il Parlamento siano inserite* [embodied] *le supplicationi date a Monsr. Revmo. sopra ciò*), making mention of his Right Reverend Lordship's concession, and basing this Act thereupon; so that, by the grace of God, matters have passed better than they expected.

From London, Christmas Eve, 1554.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
v. lxxix. p. 72.

976. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

After desiring him by their letters of the 15th instant to congratulate the King and Queen in their name on the fortunate and grand acquisition made in England, through the country's reconciliation and union with the rest of Christendom, and its obedience to the Apostolic See, they received his letter of the 4th instant, acquainting them with the solemnity and ceremony performed on the preceding day in St. Paul's Cathedral (*nella chiesa grande di quella città*),† with the multitude of people present there, and with the universal satisfaction caused by the office performed in public by the Lord Chancellor, and what the King with so great a demonstration of love and affection towards the Signory, desired him to tell them in his name; all which things gave them the greatest pleasure; and therefore, besides the thanks and congratulations already offered by him to the King and confirmed by their letter of the 15th, they now desire him again to repeat them. Is also to congratulate the King on the prosperous course of religious affairs in England; which office he is also to perform with the Queen, the Legate, and the Chancellor, as shall seem fit to him.

* This postscript was evidently written by one of the attendants of Cardinal Pole, to some personage at Rome. The Legate's "reply to the petitions by the Parliament" are alluded to in Foreign Calendar, 1554, circa Dec. 24, p. 148, No. 308. The date is now confirmed as above.

† In Machyn's Diary it is stated that the ceremony at St. Paul's took place on the 2nd December.

1554.

That the ambassador may know the Signory's intention with regard to his following the King (in reply to the inquiry made in his former letters), their will is, that should his Majesty quit England for the purpose of visiting the Emperor, as stated in his letter of the 4th, he is to do what shall be most agreeable to the King and Queen; and should he follow his Majesty, he is to leave his secretary in England, with orders to give the Signory, and the ambassador himself, daily account of all events worthy of their knowledge, and to do what shall be necessary for the Signory's interests, and for the merchants, until Michiel's return to England; and in the meanwhile is to make use of the secretary in the service of the Venetian ambassador with the Emperor.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 14.

[*Italian.*]

May 23.
p. 2, verso.

978: CACTA in Quilicini.

Quod Ser Nicheus Maurone fecit alia L. littera, ad nostrum
servitium, ut qual sint in totius hunc CC.

APPENDIX.

ACTS of the VENETIAN SENATE, respecting the Signory's negociations
with SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD, for military assistance against the
Archdukes of Austria.

1376.

May 23.

Liber iste
continet partes
secretas Consilij
Rogatorum.

On parchment;
marked D.
Venetian
Archives.

p. 8.

977. CAPTA.

xxiii. Maii.

Cum sit multum utile pro statu nostro providere de contrata subditis et fidelibus nostris Trivisane et Cenete, ubi est mora istarum gentium ad damnum ipsorum et cum periculo status nostri, et omnis mora sit contraria nostre intentioni, ne videamur deserere ipsos subditos ac fideles nostros; Vadit pars quod scribatur de presenti Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod per illum modum, qui sibi videbitur convenire, vadat ad locum ubi sciverit esse dominum Johannem Aguto, cui ex parte nostra facta salutatione, cum literis nostris credulitatis, exponat qualiter in transactis temporibus, per nuntios proprios, se obtulit promptum ad honores et commoda nostra, et quod inter cetera libenter videret casum propter quem, cum honore nostro, possemus comprehendere bonam dispositionem quam habet ad conservationem status nostri. Unde considerantes predicta, deliberavimus sibi notificare, qualiter Dux Leopoldus Austrie, cum aliquibus gentibus, descendit ad partes nostras Trivisane et Cenete, nulla nobis facta conscientia de mala dispositione quam habebat et habet erga nos et subditos nostros, derobando, capiendo, et multa alia mala committendo, contra suum honorem, de quibus omnibus multum gravati sumus, sicut merito possumus et debemus. Et propterea libenter sciremus, si intentio ipsius Domini Johannis esset, velle venire velociter ad servitium nostrum, et cum quanta quantitate gentium, computatis gentibus quas habet ad presens, et hiis quas posset recuperare, de brevi, et cum quibus pretio, modis et conditionibus, et quam cito posset recedere, quia nostra agenda stant in celeri expeditione. Nam habita sua intentione, statim respondebimus sibi pro dando expeditionem huic facto; et quicquid Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno habuerit ab eo circa predicta, et specialiter pro quanto tempore posset nobis servire, et cum quanta gente, de presenti nobis scribat singulariter, et distincte, pro nostra informatione; dando intelligi dicto Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod intentio nostra esset quod tempus foret, quam plus breve esse posset; etiam reddatur previsus Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno, quod propterea non stet de adimplendo sibi commissa, de gentibus quas firmare debet ad servitium nostrum.

Non, 4. Non sincere, 3.

May 25.

p. 8, tergo.

978. CAPTA in COLLEGIO.

Quod Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno firmet alias L. lanceas, ad nostrum servitium, ita quod sint in totum lancee CC.

1376.

May 26.

p. 8, tergo.
Cons. Cap. Sap.

979. CAPTA.

26 Maii.

Cum per formam pacis quam habemus cum Domino Padue ipse tenetur et debet esse in liga nobiscum contra Duces Austrie, et pro honore nostro faciat communicare secum factum infrascriptum; Vadit pars quod per unum nostrum nuntium notificetur sibi, qualiter Dominus Johannes Aguto, amicus nostri domini, pluries fecit nobis dici, quod libenter et cum bono animo faceret ea que forent nostri honoris et status, et quod misimus ad eum unum nostrum nobilem, et credimus quod pensata bona dispositione sua ad honorem et statum nostrum, veniet ad servitium nostrum cum brigata sua contra Duces Austrie et gentes suas, que sic hostiliter venerunt ad damnum nostrum. Et quia ipse Dominus Padue est in liga nobiscum contra ipsos Duces, propterea notificamus predicta magnificentie sue, non dubitantes quod placebunt sibi; et ea que sequentur super hoc, similiter sibi nota faciemus.

Non, 11. Non sincere, 3. Alii de parte.

Item roget notarius vel nuntius iturus Dominum Padue, quod si alique gentes domini Marchionis Ferarie, que debent venire ad servitium nostrum, vel alie gentes et soldati nostri, transirent per territoria et loca sue magnitudinis, quod placeat sibi ordinare quod habeant liberum et expeditum transitum, et victualia pro sua pecunia, sicut de sua magnificentia plene speramus.

May 26.

980. CAPTA.

p. 8, tergo.
Dnus. Cons. Cap.
et Sap. omnes.

Quod scribatur Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod si poterit adimplere nostram intencionem, non dando alicui ultra quinque vel decem lanceas, bene quidem; quando vero videret non posse obtinere nostram intencionem per modum predictum, possit dare usque XX. lanceas pro quolibet, secundum condicionem et qualitatem personarum, pro non perdendo tempus in factis nostris, non dando aliquid plus ultra ducatos XX. pro lancea.

981. CAPTA.

Quod iste executor qui deficit, et alii qui deficerent in posterum, fiant per scrupulum inter Dominum, Consiliarios, Capita, et Sapientes.

Ser Jacobus Mauro.	} Sap. Trivisane, Istrie, et Padue.
Ser Micael Mauroceno.	
Ser Andrea Zeno.	
Ser Pantaleon Barbo.	

May 27.

982. CAPTA.

27 Maii.

p. 9.
D. Consil.
Cap. et
Sap. omnes.

Quod scribatur Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, civi nostro, quod pro expeditione agendorum nostrorum intentio nostra est, et sic ei committimus et mandamus expresse, quod faciat posse suum de eundo celeriter ad Dominum Johannem Aguto, ubi est, procurando habere literas securi conductus, et scortam sufficientem, a Domino Johanne, vel aliis, ut sibi videbitur, ita quod possit adimplere sibi commissam per nos; quando vero, facta experientia possibili, hoc non esset factibile, nec posset fieri, nec adimpleri per eum, tunc, pro non perdendo tempus, debeat celeriter, et sine mora, mittere, cum nostris literis credulitatis, Tibertum de Bagnacavalo ad ipsum Dominum

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Johannem Aguto, cum commissione et verbis et mandato nostro, sicut ipse Ser Nicolaus facere et procurare debebat. Et quicquid Tibertus fecerit et habuerit nobis significet celeriter et sine mora, et particulariter et distincte, ut possimus esse previsi et providere factis nostris.

June 8.
p. 11, tergo.
Dnus.
Consiliarii
Capita et
Sapientes.

983. CAPTA. Indict. xiiij. Die octavo mensis Junii.

Cum in pactis treuguarum nuper factarum inter comune et ancianos Bononie ex una parte et Dominum Johannem Aguto et socios suos ex altera, contineantur duo capitula infrascripti tenoris, videlicet, quod Thomas filius Domini Johannis Aguto, Philipus filius Domini Johannis Tornoherii, et Laurentius filius Domini Johannis Briz, pro obsidibus et observatione omnium et singulorum contentorum in instrumento ipsarum treuguarum debeant stare, morari, retineri, et custodiri, expensis eorum, secundum arbitrium domini Ducis Veneciarum vel alterius conservatoris assumendi, durante treugua presenti, in Veneciis, ad petitionem comunis Bononie. Item convenerunt adinvicem dicte partes, modis et nominibus quibus supra, si aliqua controversia vel discordia oriretur, vel posset oriri, inter partes predictas, de aliquibus, vel pro aliquibus, in quibus diceretur fuisse contrafactum per aliquam dictarum partium, quod talis controversia vel discordia, et cause ipsarum controversiarum et discordiarum, audiantur, examinentur, et decendantur, infra xv. dies, querela exposita, per illustrem Dominum Ducem Veneciarum in quantum acceptare vellet, et in quantum nolle, per Dominum Galeotum, et in quantum nolle, per Dominum Padue, vel alium eligendum per partes, concorditer, summarie, de plano et absque strepitu judicii, veritate inspecta et secundum bonam conscientiam, et quod declarationi, arbitramento, et laudo, ferendis per ipsum electum, assumptum et acceptatum stari debeat, et per dictas partes laudata debeant observari; et in casu quo comune Bononie amplius treugiam nolle, teneatur in continenti, conservator, facta notificatione, restituere Anglicis in Veneciis obsides, comuni Bononie pro dicta treugua assignatis. Et sicut notum est, comune Bononie et Dominus Johannes Aguto per nuncios et literas suas amicabiliter et domesticce fecerunt nos rogari et requiri, quod complacemur sibi in facto predicto, et pro nobis faciat retinere et habere predictos pro amicis, et complacere eis in eo quod honeste fieri potest; Vadit pars quod Respondeatur istis nunciis, et primo ad factum quod illustris Dominus Dux noster, sit conservator et iudex differentiarum que possent occurrere inter partes, etc., quod, sicut est plene notum, Dominus Dux non est solitus, ullo modo, se de talibus impedire, ymo est sibi soli ab antiquo expresse prohibitum, per suam promissionem; sed tamen, ut comune Bononie, et dominus Johannes Aguto plene videant et cognoscant bonam dispositionem nostram, et quod intendimus eis amicabiliter complacere, sumus contenti, quod ubi dicit, Dominus Dux dicatur, Dominus Dux et suum Consilium qui sunt, vel erunt per tempora secundum ordines Veneciarum, et quod de hoc appareat publicum instrumentum rogatum per partes, vel quod veniant litere partium, bullate sigillis partium, in quibus fiat mentio, quod partes sint contente quod dicatur Dominus Dux Veneciarum et suum Consilium, non obstante illo puncto contento in

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treugua ubi nominatur Dominus Dux solus. Super alio puncto, quod filii domini Johannis Aguto, et aliorum sociorum suorum predictorum, debeant conservari in Veneciis, pro obsidibus, et ad petitionem communis Bononie, etc. Respondeatur istis nunciis quod, sicut est manifeste notorium, terra nostra est patens et omnibus aperta, et in ea omnes possunt ire, stare, et redire qualibet hora sine aliqua contradictione, et dicere quod assumeremus istud onus, sicut petitur, non videmus quod ullo modo posset fieri nec servari per nos, et sic ubi crederemus velle servire, veniremus ad faciendum contrarium; sed tamen pro amore eorum, et ut clare videant quod nostra intentio est velle eis complacere, reperimus istos modos, videlicet, quod de voluntate ambarum partium procederet, quod isti pueri consignarentur ad custodiam et manus alicujus vel aliquarum bonarum personarum in Veneciis, que haberent curam et custodiam de eis, cum illis modis qui placerent partibus, nam in Veneciis sunt multe bone persone terrigene et forenses, que poterunt de hoc partibus complacere, et iste esset modus bonus et expeditus pro utraque parte.

p. 12.

Quando vero istud non placeret partibus, posset teneri iste alius modus, videlicet, quod isti pueri mitterentur ad civitatem nostram Tarvisii, que est terra custodie, et placibilis et alectabilis locus, et ibi possent consignari alicui vel aliquibus personis, sicut placeret partibus, quia ibi essent valde bene securi, et nos daremus ordinem ad portas civitatis et aliter, ita quod nostro posse, non exirent dictam civitatem, intelligendo et declarando, in omni casu, quo pueri ponerentur in civitate nostra Veneciarum, vel in civitate nostra Tarvisii, per modum predictum, quod commune nostrum, ut justum est, propterea non possit incurrere aliquod damnum, vel teneri ad aliquam rem, occasione predicta, et quod istud appareat per cartam vel privilegium opportunum.

Non, 6. Non sinc., 10.

June 8.

984. CAPTA.

viii. Junii.

Cons. Cap. Sap.

Cum sint in Veneciis tres ambaxatores domini Johannis Aguto et sue compagne, causa veniendi ad servitium nostrum, et istud requirat fieri caute et secrete, pro utilitate et bono agendorum nostrorum; Vadit pars quod dominus, consilarii, capita, et sapientes, per majorem partem habeant libertatem accipiendi et firmandi ipsam compagnam, partem vel totam, ad servitium nostrum, cum illis pactis, modis, tempore, et conditionibus, et soldo, vel provisionibus, que videbuntur Collegio predicto, vel majori parti; et si opus fuerit, dictum Collegium habeat libertatem mittendi nuncium, vel nuncios, ad illas partes, et sicut fuerit opportunum, pro adimplendo nostram intentionem predictam. 56, 63, 68.

De Non, 55, 50, 48. Non sinc., 15, 13, 10.

985. CAPTA in COLLEGIO, vigore libertatis tradite a CONSILIO ROGATORUM et addit.

Quod respondeatur istis ambaxatoribus vel nuntiis compagne, quod intellectis intentionibus suis nobis in scriptis exhibitis, tenore presentium respondemus, quod petitiones sue nobis videntur alte et

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magne, et ad ipsas non attenderemus ullo modo, quia intentio nostra non est firmare eos ad modum lancearum propter magnum tempus quod perderetur, cum notabili damno agendorum nostrorum; sed est nostra intentio firmare compagnam, ad modum compagne; et propterea ut non perdatur tempus, disposuimus de presenti, simul cum eis, mittere unum ambaxatorem nostrum ad dominum Johannem Aguto et ad compagnam predictam, plene informatum de nostra intentione. Omnes.

986. CAPTA in COLLEGIO.

Quod eligatur unus nobilis per scrupitinium in hoc Collegio, qui possit accipi, de omni loco et officio, et iudicatu petitionum, non perdendo officium nec utilitatem ejus, nec aliquid quod haberet, et respondeat de presenti, et recedat, cum istis ambaxatoribus compagne. Omnes.

Electus ambaxator ad compagnam, Ser Leonardus Dandulo, miles.

987. CAPTA in COLLEGIO, vigore diete libertatis.

Quod committatur ambaxatori nostro ituro ad compagnam, quod facta salutatione domino Johanni Aguto et sociis suis, ut sibi videbitur, ex parte nostra, cum illis sapientibus et dextris verbis, que sibi videbuntur, procuret sine temporis amissione, de habendo personam domini Johannis Aguto ad nostrum servitium cum lanceis viii. c. usque mille, et usque vi. c. in vii. c. arceriis ad modum compagne, per tempus quatuor mensium, possendo dare et promittere predicto tempore, a centum mille usque C. xx. M. duc. ut melius poterit pro nostro communi. Et usque duc. x. M. possit donare capitaneo et suis magnis, sicut erunt plus contenti, pro toto dicto tempore pro sua provisione. Facta vero experientia possibili si non posset obtinere, per modum antedictum, tunc quia non facit pro nobis perdere tempus in factis nostris, procuret ambaxator noster quod dominus Johannes Aguto ad modum compagne nobis complacet, vel per viam amoris vel mutui, de lanceis iiij. c. et pluribus, si poterit, et arceriis iiij. c. et pluribus, si poterit, per quatuor menses; procurante ambaxatore nostro quod in hoc casu etiam veniat persona domini Johannis Aguto, que esset nobis carissima ultra omnem modum; et quando persona domini Johannis Aguto in hoc casu venire non posset, facta experientia possibili procuret quod veniat alia famosa et notabilis persona loco ejus, ita quod agenda nostra bene procedant.

Et habeat libertatem ambaxator noster in casu quo nobis complacet de lanceis iiij. c. et arceriis CCC. L. per modum predictum, promittendi usque summam duc. L. M. ve linde infra, ut melius poterit, per quatuor menses, et duc. v. M. pro donando domino Johanni Aguto et sociis ejus magnis, ut ei videbitur, et sicut erunt plus contenti; et si dominus Johannes Aguto venire non posset, alteri magno caporali et sociis suis magnis, ut de domino Johanne dictum est.

Et si ambaxator noster obtineret de majori quantitate lancearum iiij. c. et arceriorum iiij. c. L., habeat libertatem promittendi plus pro rata, secundum quantitatem superius limitatam, usque ad numerum de lanceis viij. c. usque mille, et a vi. c. usque vij. c. arceriis.

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Et si non posset obtinere de tanta quantitate lancearum et arceriorum, habeat libertatem defalcandi de summa predicta pro rata, ita quod non perdatur tempus in factis nostris, et quod ad minus habeamus, quando plures obtineri non poterunt, lanceas iij.^c et arcerios centum.

Et si non posset obtinere per quatuor menses, procuret per tres, promittendo per ratam temporis, ad rationem quantitatis predictæ, faciendo quam melius poterit pro nostro communi.

Et si Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno reperiet se ibi, sit simul cum nostro ambaxatore ad omnia predicta exequenda, quia est de factis istis plene informatus.

Et in omni casu quo ambaxator noster obtineat nostram intentionem, procuret quod habeamus quam plures Anglicos poterit, et quam pauciores Teutonicos et Ytalianos poterit, pro meliori agendorum nostrorum.

988. CAPTA in COLLEGIO.

Quod possit ambaxator noster iturus expendere pro istis modicis diebus id quod erit necessarium.

Et procuret ambaxator noster pro bono et expeditione agendorum nostrorum, quod dicte gentes recedant et veniant quam citius esse potest, ita quod ad longius recedant per totum mensem presentem et ante si fieri poterit.

Item, quod incipiant livrare soldum die qua incipient equitare.

De facto passuum, dicat ambaxator noster quod de passu bene providebimus, ita quod bene habebunt passum cum gratia Dei.

Et detur copia pactorum nostrorum soldatorum equitum nostro ambaxatori, in aliis capitulis exceptis pretio, et aliis que non faciant ad factum.

Item, quod recipiant solutionem suam in hunc modum, videlicet statim tertium, et aliud tertium usque duos menses proximos, et aliud tertium ad complementum aliorum duorum mensium; et non possendo facere per modum predictum, faciat ut melius poterit pro bono nostri communis et expeditione facti, non transeundo medietatem statim, et aliam medietatem ad quam longiores terminos poterit obtinere.

Et si aliqua differentia occurreret, ita quod per eam non posset adimpleri nostra intentio, scribat subito et expectet mandatum. Non, 1; alii de parte.

June 20.

989. CAPTA.

20 Junii.

p. 15, tergo.
Jacobus Mauro,
Micael Mauro-
ceno, Andreas
Zeno, Federicus
Cornario, Sap.

Quod respondeatur Ser Leonardo Dandulo, militi, ambaxatori nostro ad dominum Johannem Aguto, et Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, quod recepimus literas suas, datas Faentie 17 Junii, continentes ordinate gesta per eos, suam sollicitudinem et portamentum merito commendantes; ad quas respondemus, quod si poterunt concludere, et obtinere nostram intentionem, cum Domino Johanne Aguto, secundum formam sue commissionis, multum placebit nobis, dummodo istud fiat subito et expedite, ita quod non perdamus tempus in factis nostris; quando vero differentia esset in facto termini, videlicet quod ille gentes non possent recedere ad terminum contentum in sua commissione, sumus contenti ut propterea

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non remaneat factum, quod habeant libertatem elongandi terminum usque medium mensem Julii, abbreviando tamen ipsum si poterunt suo posse. Facta vero experientia possibili, si viderent se duci per verba, et quod non possent, ullo modo, obtinere nostram intentionem secundum formam sue commissionis, tunc, quia non facit pro nobis stare in verbis et perdere tempus, accepto commeatu a domino Johanne Aguto et suis, recedant inde, et reducant se in partibus illis in illo loco, ubi sibi videbitur, et cum dextro et bono modo, non perdendo tempus, procurent recuperare ad nostrum servitium majorem numerum lancearum quem proterunt, usque lanceas v. et arcerios usque ccc., vel quam plures poterunt usque dictum numerum de illis de compagna, impediendo se minus quam poterunt cum Italicis, cum soldo ducatorum xx. pro lancea, sicut damus aliis, et cum ducatis octo pro quolibet arcerio, sicut damus Hungaris. Et ultra predictum pretium, vel ad modum compagne vel provisionis, vel doni, vel alio utiliori modo, qui sibi videbitur, ita quod alii non possent a nobis petere aliquid, habeant libertatem dandi eis, ita quod veniant, a xxvii. in xxviii. ducatos pro lancea, et arceriis, ita quod veniant, a due. x. usque xii. pro quolibet, ut melius poterunt. Et licet demus sibi libertatem magnam predictam, pro non perdendo tempus, et ut non deficiat intentio nostra, tamen non dubitamus quod suo posse avantazabunt nos, et facient cum quam minori pretio poterunt. Et super omnia reducatur ad memoriam ambaxatorum nostrorum, de celeri expeditione dictarum gentium, ita quod recedant suo posse, usque dies octo mensis Julii proximi, vel ad longius quando aliter fieri non posset usque medium mensem Julii predictum; scribendo nobis de hora in horam et de die in diem sine fallo quicquid fecerint et habuerint, pro nostra informatione; et super omnia quod habeant bene menti, de expeditione predictorum, quia omnis mora est valde nociva factis nostris.

June 23.

p. 16. Cons.
Ser Pantaleon
Barbo,
Ser Benedictus
Bragadin,
Ser Joannes
Storlato, Ser
Joannes Miani,
Sap.
Ser Michael
Mauroceno,
Ser Federicus
Cornario.

990. QUOD scribatur Ser Leonardo Dandulo et Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, ambaxatoribus nostris, quod possendo firmare ad nostrum servitium lanceas cc. et arcerios centum, sibi oblato per illos de compagna, firmet eos in bona gratia, et ultra hoc de presenti procurent habere ad nostrum servitium alias ccc. lanceas, de bona gente, ut melius poterunt; et in casu quo viderent non posse habere illas cc. lanceas et centum arcerios, de illis de compagna, accipiant, loco earum, de aliis bonis gentibus, ut sibi videbitur, non transeundo numerum predictum; et de alia compagna vel gente accipienda non impediunt se ullo modo vel ingenio. 43, 50, 51, 52, 51, 43, 50, 51, 52, 51.

De non, 4. Non sinceri, 4, 12, 13, 14, 14, 13, 13, 14, 14, 13.

June 23.

p. 16, tergo.
Micael Mauro-
ceno, Federicus
Cornario.
Sapientes.

991. CAPTA.

xxiii. Junii.

Quod scribatur Ser Leonardo Dandulo et Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, ambaxatoribus nostris, quod recepto presenti mandato debeant de presenti et sine mora ire ad dominum Johannem Aguto, et si usque ad tres dies tunc proximos, a die quo applicuerint ad presentiam ejus, non poterunt obtinere et firmare compagnam ad nostrum servitium, sicut eis commissum est, tunc pro non perdendo

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tempus debeant, quam citius et celerius esse poterit, firmare ad nostrum servitium, et sine amissione temporis, usque lanceas v.^o de melioribus et sufficientioribus gentibus quas poterunt habere et reperire, et ducentos arcerios, per illum modum et sicut melius et celerius facere poterunt, ad pretia eis scripta, et sicut sunt ordinate informati per nos, habendo super omnia bene menti, de veloci et subito recessu dictarum gentium, sicut plene speramus de eis. 41, 46, 50, 56.

Jacobus Mauro,
proc. Sap.

Quod scribatur ambaxatoribus nostris quod si non poterunt firmare et obtinere compagnam ad nostrum servitium, ut eis commissum est, tunc, pro non perdendo tempus, debeant firmare ad nostrum servitium usque lanceas v.^o et arcerios ii.^o de melioribus quos habere poterunt, ad pretia eis scripta, et secundum informationem quam habent a nobis. 50, 51, 44, 39.

De non, 18. Non sinceri, 6, 17, 18, 16.

June 30.

992. CAPTA.

p. 17, tergo.

Quod scribatur ambaxatoribus nostris missis ad compagnam in hac forma, videlicet: Recepimus literas vestras datas 27 mensis Junii, continentes ordinate gesta per vos, et id quod habuistis a domino Johanne Aguto, vestram sollicitudinem commendantes. Et quia super omnia est nobis cordi, expeditio agendorum nostrorum vobis commissorum, scribimus iterum et replicamus quod in casu quo non potuissetis obtinere compagnam ad nostrum servitium per modum vobis commissum, tunc sine mora sitis solliciti et studiosi ad firmandum ad nostrum servitium expedire usque lanceas v.^o et arcerios ii.^o de illis melioribus gentibus quas poteritis obtinere, et tam de illis de compagna quam de extra compagnam, ut vobis utilius et melius videbatur; declarando vobis quod potestis accipere personam domini Johannis Aguto, cum dictis gentibus, vel aliam famosam et notabilem personam de suis de suo consilio, vel extra consilium suum, quando dominus Johannes Aguto venire non posset; et potestis accipere de gentibus de compagna et extra compagnam, ut dictum est, usque dictum numerum lancearum v.^o, et arceriorum ii.^o, sicut vobis utilius et melius apparebit, dum modo detis expeditionem celerem factis nostris. Et detur intelligi ambaxatoribus nostris, quod teneant modum quod dicte gentes recedant de partibus illis, ad longius, pro veniendo ad nostrum servitium, usque medium mensis Julii proximi. Non, 15; alii de parte.

July 8.

993. CAPTA.

p. 18. Sap.

Quia est honor nostri domini, quod nobilis vir Ser Leonardus Dandulo, miles, ambaxator ad compagnam, redeat domum post quam dedit principium factis nostris, et quod Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno est plene informatus de factis. Vadit pars, quod scribatur dicto Ser Leonardo, quod ad omne beneplacitum suum redeat Venecias, et Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno remaneat, cum libertate, in totum, sicut erant ambo. Et studeat et sollicitet, de adimplendo celeriter et expedite facta sibi commissa, et sine aliqua temporis amissione, ita quod possit apud nos merito commendari, scribendo continue de die in diem quicquid fecerit.

1376.

July 5.

p. 18, tergo.

994. CAPTA.

Quod respondeatur nobilibus viris Leonardo Dandulo, militi, et Nicolao Mauroceno, nostris ambaxatoribus ad compagnam, quod recepinus literas suas ultimas, datas Faventie, primo et secundo Julii, continentis gesta per eos, suam sollicitudinem commendantes. Et quia nostri ambaxatores predicti scribunt quod nullo modo credunt posse firmare, nec mittere gentes sibi commissas, ad terminum eis commissum, scilicet ad medium mensis presentis, et ipsi dicunt verum, omnibus consideratis; Vadit pars quod fiat secundum consilium eorum, videlicet, quod relinquatur in discretionem eorum, dandi et statuendi eis illum breviorum et minorem terminum, quem poterunt; quia non dubitamus quod dabunt ipsum terminum quam minorem poterunt, pro bono agendorum nostrorum.

Cons. Cap. Sap.

Cum alias captum fuerit in isto Consilio, de accipiendo ad nostrum servitium usque lanceas v.c. et arcerios ii.c., vadit pars pro bono agendorum nostrorum, quod Dominus; Consilarii, Capita, et Sapientes habeant libertatem accipiendi, et accipiendi, usque dictas quantitates, illam quantitatem vel numerum, qui eis videbitur vel majori parti. 31.

Sap.

Ser Jacobus

Mauro proc.

Ser Phedericus

Cornaro.

995. CAPTA.

Quia est tempus plus modo quam umquam de essendo fulcitos, ad sustinendum nostrum honorem, Vadit pars pro bono agendorum nostrorum, quod stemus fortes, ad id quod fuit captum, de lanceis v.c. et arceriis ii.c. 52. De non, 0. Non sincere, 4.

July 16.

p. 21, tergo.

996. CAPTA.

Cum nobilis vir Leonardus Dandulo, miles, dum fuit ad partes Romandiole, simul cum Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, firmaverit ad nostrum servitium lanceas iii.c. xlv. et centum arcerios, ita quod restarent ad numerum lancearum nostrarum lancee xv., quia alie lancee xl, usque ad numerum de v.c. sunt date in Venetiis; Vadit pars, quia Ser Nicolaus Mauroceno stat extra cum magno sinistro suo, quod scribatur sibi quod si firmavit illas xv. lanceas que restant, redeat Venetias, et si firmasset aliquid plus usque ad numerum de lanceis v.c., quia non habuisset illud mandatum nostrum, det expeditionem facto et redeat Venetias.

Oct. 21.

p. 38.

997. CAPTA.

Quia Dominus Padue est noster (*sic*), colligatus noster, et conveniens est ut participemus cum eo negotia ista, Vadit pars quod scribatur sibi qualiter videmus quod dux Leopoldus attendit ad damnum nostrum, et qualiter deliberavimus, cum Dei gratia, velle habere ad nostrum servitium dominum Johannem Aguto, cum compagna sua, et non habere respectum ad tempus hyemis, quia firmando nunc eos, habebimus ipsos in tempore estatis, et qualiter jam delegimus unum nostrum nobilem, occasione predicta, et non dubitamus quod ipsum habebimus ad nostrum servitium, quia bis vel ter, istis diebus preteritis, ipse dominus Johannes Aguto nos fecit requiri et rogari de essendo ad servitium nostrum.

1376.

Oct. 21.

p. 38.

998. CAPTA.

Et quia de gentibus Domini Padue, quas debet contribuere in liga, et que pridie fuerunt ad campum, multi sunt infirmi et impotentes, et mali in ordine cum equis suis, sicut ipse nobis scripsit, placendo sue magnitudini, nobis utile videretur quod ille gentes sue, quas debet contribuere, in liga, firmari deberent in numero istius compagne, quia plus valerent lancee mille de istis quam mille v. c. de aliis. Et quando istud sue magnificentie non appareret, placet nobis, quod in hoc disponat ut sibi melius placet, quia illud quod dicimus est in omnem bonam partem et pro solvendo debitum nostrum, quia noster colligatus est; dando intelligi Domino Padue, quod in casu quo iste gentes essent necessarie sue magnitudini, pro bono et conservatione status sui, secundum formam lige, essent parate alacriter et libenter.

Oct. 27.

p. 38, Cons.
Ser Petrus
Maurocenus,
Ser Lucas
Gradonico,
Tria Cap. de
xla.

Ser Johannes
Bembo,
Ser Federicus
Cornario,
Sap.

999. CAPTA. 27 Octobris. Treugua cum ducibus Austrie.

Cum habeamus satis intentionem istius ambaxatoris Domini Regis Hungarie et Domini Padue, colligati nostri, Vadit pars quod Dominus, Consilarii, Capita, et Sapientes habeant libertatem concludendi, in ista treugua cum Ducibus Austrie, per illum meliorem modum qui eis, vel majori parti videbitur; non possendo concludere, cum minori tempore, eo quod dixit ambaxator domini Regis, sed cum majori, toto suo posse; tempus vero dictum per ambaxatorem domini Regis est quod treugua duret, a modo, usque Sanctum Georgium, de mense Aprilis proximi, et inde usque ad unum annum; procurante Collegio nostro omnia avantagia que poterit, pro bono nostro. 87.

De non, 24. Non sinceri, 8.

Nov. 10.

p. 40, tergo.

1000. CAPTA.

Quod scribatur Ser Nicolao Mauroceno, ambaxatori nostro ad dominum Johannem Aguto, quod quia conclusimus in treugua cum Ducibus Austrie, accepto comeatu, redeat Venetias, notificando domino Johanni Aguto de treugua facta per nos.

1531.

Jan. 19.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416,
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1001. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Madame the Regent [Louise of Savoy], who was in a bad way (*che stava in mali termini*), has rallied so much that the fever and flux have subsided, and the entertainments and pageants (*triumphi*) in course of preparation for the coronation and entry of the most Serene Queen [Eleanor of Austria], will be put off, so long as Madame's convalescence shall be delayed.

The relations between England and France are said to become more and more intimate daily, and the boundaries in dispute between the two kingdoms are being fixed; and Dom. Giovanni

1531.

Gioachino, who was ambassador in England, has come hither, to return immediately. The cause of his coming will be heard.*

Paris, 19th January 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques,
Jo. Ants. Venerio, et
Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched through the ambassador from Ferrara.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416,
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1002. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since their last of the 19th, applied for audience of the King, who is so occupied in exercising himself for the approaching jousts, at which he is to tilt (*nelle quale la corre le sue lanze*), and in arranging other matters for the coronation and entry of the Queen, that they have been unable to obtain it. Giustinian had already announced that Giovanni Gioachino [Passano, Seigneur de Vaux] was coming from England, it being said that he was on his way, to be present at the fixing of the boundaries between the jurisdiction of France and that of England. They now, however, understand that the chief cause of his mission was because some time ago the Cardinal de Grammont returned from Rome with news that the Pope told him he had seen and heard the opinions of many jurists (*consultori*) about the divorce case of England, affirming that the dispensation for the marriage contract between the most Serene Queen of England and the most Serene King was not valid, so that his Holiness seemed inclined to consent to the divorce or dissolution of that marriage; which intelligence King Francis despatched to England by one of his gentlemen.

It subsequently came to pass that the Pope wrote certain briefs to King Henry, in direct contradiction to the announcement made to him by King Francis, prohibiting this dissolution and divorce; on which account King Henry complained of King Francis, and sent the aforesaid Messer Giovanni Gioachino (who it is also said wished to be sent for his own private interests) to announce in company with Sir Francis Bryan, his ambassador resident in France, the displeasure he felt from the news given him, as being illusive (*datali come illusoria*), suspecting that the Pope, the Emperor, and King Francis had an understanding together in opposition to his will, using very offensive language (*con parole assai concitate*); which King Francis regretting, he sent off to Rome about this business, and also to England, apologizing and declaring his innocence (*et dechiarir la sua innocencia*); and

* By a letter from Sir Francis Bryan, dated Paris, 20th January 1531, it appears that Giovanni Gioachino was then known in England by the name of De Vaux, and by this same letter we learn that he arrived in Paris on Saturday, the 14th January 1531. (State Papers, vol. viii., part 5, continued, p. 275.)

1531.

Messer Giovanni Gioachino is still at the Court, and will soon depart for England.

The ambassadors believe that his Majesty's excuse is legitimate, and that King Henry will receive the defence of his innocence (*la defension della sua innocentia*) as becoming.

Paris, 31st January 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques.

Jo. Ants. Venerio, et

Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched by way of Lyons.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1003. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI Pisani, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These Lords of the Council have been some days in close consultation about the current reports concerning the affairs of the divorce, to dispel the English King's suspicion that King Francis had an understanding with the Pope to prevent it; and having determined to favour King Henry's desire, they wrote very warm letters to Rome, persuading the Pope to favour this divorce, giving full account of this their resolve to his English Majesty, who is said to be more closely allied than ever with King Francis, and to have given him time to pay his debt at his convenience.

Some persons say that the Emperor has invested the Duke Alexander de' Medici with the whole of Tuscany as a kingdom; others that he has constituted him Duke and Prince of Pisa and Vicar-General of Tuscany, but not King;* both which reports are contradicted by the Papal Nuncio, whom they do not entirely believe, as he would not admit what might seem to him unworthy of the Pope.

A gentleman has arrived in Paris from the Duke of Albany [John Stuart], having been sent express, and announces that the Pope is inclined to marry his niece [Catherine de' Medici] to his most Christian Majesty's third son, the Duke of Angoulême, promising him Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Reggio, and other places; and were the King to place trust in the Pope, whom he trusts but little, this alliance would be concluded. The Nuncio denies it, *ore rotundo*, saying that the Pope would never alienate anything from the Church to gratify his private affection; but declares that the Duke of Albany, who is burning for novelty and for such a result, made this proposal to the Pope, and writes these conversations to the King, though on the part of his Holiness no [such] arrangement was, or ever will be, made.

It is asserted everywhere that the Emperor remains firm in his determination, not in any way to modify the articles of [the Treaty

* In the Venetian Calendar, date 1530, September 5 (No. 610), it is shewn that the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, was already affianced to Alexander de' Medici.

1531.

of] Cambrai, which renders the French dissatisfied, and causes the King to ally himself more closely with England.

Paris, 9th February 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques.
Jo. Ants. Venerio, et
Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched by way of Lyons.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1004. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the night of the 10th, the King returned to Paris from St. Germain and from his usual hunting diversions. Next morning they sent their secretaries to the Great Master, without whose intervention no one any longer approaches his Majesty, to obtain audience. He replied promptly that, for that day, it was impossible, as the King had taken medicine, but that he would hear them on the morrow, when the secretaries were to return, and that he would appoint the hour. This they did, and he then appointed the next day, as his Majesty had engaged himself to give audience to Mons. de Praet,* who arrived in Paris from the Emperor on the 10th. Next day early he sent to the house of one of the Ambassadors to say that, towards the end of dinner, they were to be at the Court, and that the King would willingly give them audience; and in the meanwhile the secretaries having been sent to the Court, his Excellency said to them, "The Lords Ambassadors will be together at the appointed hour; gentlemen will be sent to accompany them." And four gentlemen having come accordingly, the three Ambassadors went to the Court yesterday, the 13th, and were received most graciously by the King, who, with a joyful countenance, doffing his bonnet most courteously, and bidding them welcome again and again, embraced them, so that it was impossible to kiss his hand.

His Majesty was standing in the Privy-Chamber (*nella camera privata*), and although many Cardinals and great personages of the Court were present, there was no display or ceremony; and on opening their credentials and saying "they are in Latin," he read them through silently, after which, as he showed that he was listening, Pisani explained the embassy, congratulating him on his well-being, on the so anxiously desired return of his sons,† and his own most auspicious marriage. Having listened attentively, the King replied, "I will speak French, but in such wise that you may all easily understand me. Few words will suffice to let you know that the Signory's friendship and mine are sincere, as we have been together under fire. The Signory congratulates me on the return of my sons, and on my prosperity, as if they were her own. This I believe, and thank the State, as I am the Signory's good friend, and we have run

* Louis de Flandres, Seigneur de Praet, one of the wisest and most experienced ministers in the Emperor's service. (See Foreign Calendar, 1555, October 8, p. 189.)

† The French Princes had been released from Spain in June 1530.

1531.

one and the same chance together,* and they have known me to be their good friend, as I am; and although I have sustained some loss and expense for the Signory, as the Signory did for me, I am their good friend." Thus repeating himself as aforesaid, he then continued, "If when I had my sons in Spain, and was the Emperor's enemy, it might be supposed I was the Signory's friend from necessity; now that I have my sons in France, and that the Emperor is my good friend, it will no longer be said that I am the Signory's friend from necessity, but from love and good friendship, and as they have already found me" (*si come la mi ha provato*). "When the Signory shall make the test through commands about their own affairs, they will know that I love them heartily; and whenever your interests have been discussed, the Ambassador who has resided with me upwards of four years" (and here he turned towards me Sebastian Giustinian) "perceived that I treated the Signory's affairs as those of dear friends; and his successor" (turning towards me Venier), "will know the like;" adding, "and although you had to wait some days for audience, it was owing to these jousts and entertainments of ours, and to my being indisposed from a cold;" it being evident that he was still hoarse, and he coughed repeatedly.

After Giustinian had made suitable acknowledgment for the King's speech, his Majesty drawing still nearer to the window with us beside him, commenced hurriedly in Italian, making a sign of secrecy, "This Mons. de Praet has come on a mission from the Emperor and brings no news, but is here to do honour to these entertainments of ours. He keeps his affairs so secret, that he does not say a word; but the Emperor's agitation (*l'agitation dell'imperator*) proceeds from not knowing when and by what way to return to Spain."

Paris, 14th February 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1005. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

According to the arrangement made, we went to the Court on the day before yesterday, and found his Majesty at dinner, surrounded by many great personages, for although this Court has always stately company (*è sempre solennemente accompagnata*), it now, by reason of the coming festivities, is rendered brilliant by the presence of cardinals, dukes, princes, and barons without end, who courteously made way for us, until we found ourselves near the table where his Majesty was eating alone; and we stood in the circle with the King's sons, who arrived on that day, four Cardinals, the Dukes of Lorraine and Vendôme, and other princes, as also great personages from Italy; and having immediately bowed to the King, his Majesty, although in the act of eating, doffed his bonnet towards us.

The dinner being ended, he rose, and saying, "Come, Ambassadors," withdrew to a window, where we made a statement of the damages, incurred by the magnificos our noblemen, narrating in

* "Et habiamo insieme corso comune fortuna."

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detail each act of unheard-of cruelty, and how unfitting this and other piratical outrages were, as perpetrated by his Majesty's subjects against the citizens and subjects of your Serenity, whose love, esteem, and observance for the King being reciprocated by his Majesty, it was therefore fitting that his subjects should act with the same friendship and benevolence; which, not having been the case with these corsairs, it remains for the justice of his Majesty to avenge this offence, lest it remain upon record that in the kingdom of France famous ships (*famosi legni*) had been armed, and that they returned home with plunder, taken solely from their friends—a victory unworthy of their captains, and in direct opposition to the will of his Majesty, whom we requested, for the avoidance of further loss of time to refer all these cases to his Council, and have them despatched summarily after this lapse of years.

The King replied in French, "Whatever the Signory asks of me, I have at heart; and with regard to justice, I wish the same justice to be rendered in France to the Signory's subjects as I wish to have done to myself;" putting his hand to his breast; and he immediately called the Cardinal Legate, Lord Chancellor [Antoine Duprat], who was at hand, and told him to have the Lieutenant at Marseilles written to in the strongest terms, to pass sentence without further delay.

The ambassadors having thanked the King for this order, his Majesty turned towards them with a smile on his face, indicating a wish to amuse himself by conversing with them, as he did for a long while in Italian, saying some jocose things; and, having part of his right hand bandaged, he said, "I hurt myself yesterday when practising with the spear; but the day after to-morrow I shall not feel it." Took occasion hence to praise his Majesty's valour on this occasion, he having borne himself so bravely that the accident can only be attributed to his courage, as they said had been written by them to the State, at which he seemed very pleased. And in the course of a long and cheerful discourse about these jousts, his Majesty said that in England it was customary, when the King jousts, for Madame the Queen (*Madama la Regina*) to preside as judge of how many strokes the King may make (*de quanti colpi debia far il Re*), so when it seems fit to her she sends word that the Kings are to joust no more (*che li Re non giostri più*).

From this his Majesty passed to many other topics, awaiting our reply to various inquiries about women and jousts (*circa donne et giostre*) with a most merry laugh (*con dolcissimo riso*); and then, with a stern frown of surprise (*un gran sopraiglio di meraviglia*) he said, "The King of England is in a bad way about this divorce of his," and then mentioned what he had heard about the counsel's opinions sent from Bologna, Padua, France, and other places, saying that of 40 doctors of laws a majority maintains openly (*largamente tiene*) that the Pope *de jure divino* could not grant the dispensation.

He next spoke about the danger of England, how that, were the present King to die without an heir male, the populace and the peasantry would all cut each other to pieces (*quel popolazzo et villani si tagliariano tutti a pezzi*), as they did some 50 years ago, for wearing no armour they all fight to the death; nor do they obey

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any one, as nobody either pays or leads them; nor do they then acknowledge any superior, but act according to their own caprice and insolence; and he continued, "It is very pitiable for a King to say, What will become of my kingdom?" He alluded in the next place to his own acquisition of the Duchy of Brittany when he had two daughters who subsequently died, he at the time having no male heirs; which Duchy, he said, yields 400,000 crowns revenue; and one year it gave him 900,000; and he commended its site and harbours, from which they might reach Spain and Flanders in a moment; and said he chose to annex it to the realm of France, although he was told to keep it for his daughters; and if he wished well to the kingdom when without male heirs, and willed to deprive his daughters [of Brittany], what must the King of England feel, knowing that he can only make a mean marriage for his daughter (*non poter maridar sua figliola se non bassamente*). He also added "The like occurred when I was the Emperor's prisoner, for they demanded Burgundy of me. I would have suffered a thousand imprisonments rather than dismember the kingdom. At present, thank God, I have sons to leave it to, and the King of England has no son; it is a great sorrow, and concerns him greatly."*

He then went on to talk of his illness during the said imprisonment, saying almost derisively (*quasi irridendo*), "The physicians told the Emperor I was consumptive, and that it would be well to exchange me for my sons. I was content that they should entertain that opinion;" and he ended the story saying, "They ferried me across the river, and to be in France sufficed me (*i me tragetorno de quà dal fiume e come fui in Franza mi bastò*)."

This conversation about King Henry seemed to me, Sebastian, to afford an opportunity for confuting what had been maliciously reported in England about your Excellency's having canvassed (*procurato*) against the divorce, and ordered me thus to do with King Francis, and that I executed the commission accordingly. As it would be disadvantageous for your Sublimity should such a falsehood reach the ears of the English King, I determined that his most Christian Majesty should attest the truth with his own lips, telling him that he well knew that never about this matter against the divorce had I spoken to him, nor ever showed him the commission received from your Serenity, which never existed.

Thereupon his Majesty said that never had he heard me speak against the divorce, nor was he aware of your Excellency's ever having given me any commission about this matter; and this his Majesty affirmed, and would affirm to the English ambassador resident here, and to all those whom I might request him to assure of the fact; so that should the English King hereafter make mention of this your Excellency's opinion (*di tal opinione di V. Ex^{za}*), his most Christian Majesty will always give the aforesaid certificate, which, together with the letters written at my desire by the magnifico the English ambassador, to those who slandered respecting

* "*È grande dolor et interesse.*" In Venetian "*interesse*," besides other meanings, signifies a matter in which one is interested. (See Boerio's Dictionary.)

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this matter, will suffice to justify your Excellency and me from such a reproach.

Paris, 17th February 1531.

Sebastian Justinian, Eques.

Jo. Ants. Venerio, et

Joannes Pisano, Procurator.

Despatched by the courier Pellegrin.

[*Italian.*]

March 15.

Despatches,

France,

Miscellany,

No. 416.

Original

Letter Book,

Venetian

Archives.

1006. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI Pisani, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Late on the night of the 4th, a gentleman, on behalf of his most Christian Majesty, requested them to be at St. Denis on the following morning for the coronation of the Queen, and to accompany her subsequently on her entry into Paris on the 9th; which invitation they accepted with becoming respect. The most Serene Queen arrived at about noon, being clad richly and pompously with regard to her habit, pearls, and jewels, which sparkled all over her (*della qual tutta resplendeva*). She was accompanied by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, who, on the right and left, assisted her to support the mantle; and the Cardinals de Grammont and Triulzi, who went from the Church to meet her at her palace, held up her arms; the three Duchesses of Vendôme, Lorraine, and Nemours, bearing her train, which was very long indeed.

Her Majesty was followed by the most Serene "Madame," the King's mother, by her daughter the Queen of Navarre, by the sister of the King of Navarre, and by the two daughters of his most Christian Majesty, with other ladies, eleven in all, all wearing coronets (*tutte coronate*), as they were all of the blood-royal; and having been conducted to a richly decorated stage (*palco*) prepared in front of the altar, she sat in the middle (*nel mezo sedete*) on a small platform (*un picol solio*) on which was her chair (*sedia*) and throne; so that she was seen sitting absolutely alone in her majesty, though the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans stood immediately behind her the whole time with their hands on the chair.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed by giving her Majesty the honours and insignia (*li honori et insigne*) usually given to Queens, after which the mass was sung, the Cardinal de Vendôme officiating with much solemnity, and the instruments and music being endless. Four Cardinals were present, besides a great plenty of the chief Bishops of the kingdom, and seven ambassadors resident at the Court, as also many Princes and Barons, so that the greatest part of the chief personages of France attended this ceremony, at which the Lord Steward acted as master of the ceremonies. His most Christian Majesty however was absent, nor is he known to have been at St. Denis on that day.

As the entry into Paris was to have taken place on the 9th, they in the meanwhile endeavoured to obtain audience of the most

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Serene "Madame," to whom alone it remained for them to present themselves, and she appointed it to take place immediately after the entry; but from the 9th until now the weather has been so stormy, and most unseasonable from wind, rain, and snow, which still prevail, that it has not yet taken place, much to the regret and detriment of Giustinian and Pisani, who are thus tied and bound. Everything is ready, and the entry expected to take place from day to day, whereupon they will take leave.

The Signory will have heard, through their ambassador in England, of the novelty proposed by the King to the clergy (*la novità promossa da quel Serenissimo Re al clero*), and the sum stipulated, which was said to be about 600,000 ducats.* Subsequently, to the amazement and surprise of everybody, news reached this Court that the English King, with the consent of the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, has utterly renounced obedience to the Pope, and been elected by them, unanimously, Primate and Superior of that realm in spiritual matters (*nelle cose ecclesiastiche*). It is known for certain that his most Christian Majesty complained greatly to the Papal Nuncio, of his Holiness having proceeded so harshly (*con tal rigidezza*) in the affair of the divorce as to make that kingdom rush headlong into this excess (*che quel regno sia trabucato in questo disordine*); the Nuncio having also received letters from the Pope, desiring him to let King Francis know that his Holiness confirmed the briefs and prohibitions forbidding the divorce, which has greatly irritated his most Christian Majesty, who has been heard to speak angrily against the Pope, and in favour of the most Serene English King.

Paris, 15th March 1531.

[*Italian.*]

March 24.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1007. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

According to the wish of this whole Court and city, which were weary of the cost, toil, and tediousness of waiting, there being at length a fine day on the 16th, the most Serene Queen made her public entry into this city with such display of riches and pomp on the part of the great personages and the upper orders, and such a multitude of horses, and so infinite a crowd of people, that we may say few such splendid and boundless pageants are witnessed in one whole century. The Queen's immediate retinue, namely 24 hackneys with housings of gold brocade, and numerous litters and carriages covered in like manner, and drawn by coursers with housings of silk or velvet with a raised pile (*sopra rizzo*) down to the ground, was little in comparison with so much other grand and sumptuous pageantry as accompanied it, and which, to avoid wearying your Serenity, we omit, but must say, with truth, that

* By the threat of the præmunire, the king obtained from Convocation 118,000*l.* in January 1531. (See Froude, vol. i. p. 278, ed. 1856.)

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the day was a very memorable one (*la giornata esser stata celeberrima*). After entering the city, the Queen, having dismounted at the Parliament house (*palazzo del Parlamento*), a most stately banquet was given there, at which, besides sixteen who sat at table with her Majesty, there supped at least 400 great personages and noblemen of the kingdom and of the city. Amongst the 16 who supped at table with the Queen, was one ambassador from each power, the invitations being given accordingly, so that of the two ambassadors from the Emperor, one alone went, and of us three, I, Pisani, had the place ceded me by my colleagues Venier and Giustinian.

On the 22nd the Magnifico Dom. Giovanni Gioachino [de Vaux], departed on his return to England on behalf of King Francis with some presents, and to announce his good and most favourable intention (*inclinatissima intentione*) with regard to his English Majesty; and, according to report, he suggests that he should refer the cause of his divorce to the future Council, to which it is generally supposed that his most Christian Majesty now consents, being, as aforesaid, indignant with the Pope for his treatment of King Henry.

Paris, 24th March 1531.

[*Italian.*]

April 3.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1008. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, and GIOVANNI PISANI, Procurator, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His most Christian Majesty is about to send the Cardinal de Grammont (*de Agramonte*), or Mons. de Langes, to the Pope, on account of the affairs of the most Serene King of England, to urge the Pope, in his most Christian Majesty's name, to devise some remedy for this harsh mode of treating the divorce, and not let King Henry completely turn his back upon the Holy Roman Catholic Church. His most Christian Majesty also sends this embassy in order to let it appear that he is inclined towards the Council, at the suit of the Emperor, but with limited orders about the site and the conferences, which require much time; and in this manner King Francis suits himself by introducing delay, as he is averse to the Council, and simultaneously makes a show of satisfying the King of England, who wishes the Pope every possible adversity, and the Emperor, who insists on the Council. The inclination thus demonstrated by the most Christian King was one of the requests made by Mons. de Praet, who will depart after Easter, without any settlement having been made hitherto, the Emperor's intention, as expressly declared by him, being that the affairs of Italy are to remain perfectly quiet; and touching the matrimonial alliances, he said that the Emperor and the King of the Romans on their part would not fail [to keep their promise?], but that as the children are now so young, the matter is premature.

Paris, 3rd April 1531

[*Italian.*]

1531.

April 15.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1009. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 4th announced the departure of his colleagues.

The Cardinal de Grammont (*de Agramonte*), according to report, is about to depart in haste for Rome, still about the affairs of England (*pur per le cose de Inghilterra*), and Mons. de Praet stays on (*persevera ancora*) at the Court, posts being despatched hence to the Emperor. The most Serene "Madame" continues ill rather than indisposed (*persevera più presto amalata che indisposta*), so that everybody is tired of remaining longer in this city.

Paris, 15th April 1531.

[*Italian.*]

April 29.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1010. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 26th, Cardinal de Grammont (*de Agramonte*) departed for Rome, and it continues to be said that he is going for the affairs of England, whose King, moreover, urges this, most especially as he places no trust in the offices of the Duke of Albany, whose stay until now with the Pope on behalf of his most Christian Majesty for the negotiation of the affairs of England has surprised many persons, by reason of that most Serene King's suspicion of him.

Mons. de Praet has not yet been despatched, nor is anything more known about him than was written in my last.

Poissi, 29th April 1531.

[*Italian.*]

May 8.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1011. The SAME to the SAME.

Went to the Court at St. Germain on the 4th, and talking with the Great Master whilst the King was at dinner, he said that his Majesty had advices from Constantinople by way of Venice through his ambassador, and that Messer Zorzi Gritti* had detained a packet of his eight or ten days; and that although he supposed this had been done without any malice, yet was I to write to your Sublimity that when similar letters arrive from the quarters of King John (*de verso il Re Zuane*),† they may be speedily given to the said ambassador. I said that as his most Illustrious Lordship affirmed to its being so, I would not say anything to the contrary; but assured him that were this the case it could only be owing to mere negligence or forgetfulness on the part of the person who brought the letters, but that I would write as required by him. I then went to his Majesty, and communicated to him the contents of the Signory's letters of the 7th April, about affairs at Constantinople, earnestly requesting that no one might know he had received the advices through your Serenity.

The King replied, "I have advices from Constantinople from that envoy of King John, in whose name he once came to me, and I treated him in such a manner that he is obliged to me, and writes me the same news as are transmitted by the Signory, with this in

* Natural son of the reigning Doge, Andrea Gritti. His death is alluded to in State Papers, vol. i. p. 615.

† John Zapolsky, titular king of Hungary.

1531.

addition, that the Turk is still increasing his forces, and to his usual troops has added 50,000 infantry with permanent pay, which must proceed from Sultan Solymán's having become aware that infantry are needed to oppose the Christian soldiery;" and the King repeated, "Be sure of what I tell you, that he pays 50,000 men more than usual; and he moreover informs me that possibly this year the Turk will make some naval expedition, and not with a powerful armada (*grossa armada*), but with 50 or 60 galleys, on board of which he will embark a certain amount of cavalry, and he will ravage Puglia, going perhaps as far as Rome, for according to this intelligence of mine (*costui*), Sultan Solymán always says 'to Rome! to Rome!' and he detests the Emperor, and his title of *Cesar*, he, the Turk, causing himself to be called *Cesar* (*facendosi lui Turco appellar Cesare*)."^{*} The King continued, "I do not believe that he will go into Germany, because the Emperor not going with an armed force against the Lutherans, the said Lutherans will have no cause to favour the Turks, but would rather defend Germany; so were Sultan Solymán to march against such a mass of soldiery (*tanta gente da guerra*), he would forthwith risk the loss of his entire kingdom, as well as the conquest of Germany; so I am of opinion that he will prefer attacking Rome, Sicily, or some other part of Italy;" the King repeating that he [the Turk] might make some commencement this year. [And of this his Majesty really seemed quite convinced, perhaps because the Papal Nuncio here informed him lately, that his Holiness was rather apprehensive about the present year, inquiring whether in case of need King Francis would succour him with a certain number of galleys, the Emperor having given orders for all those towards Genoa to be in readiness for his defence. King Francis replied, that should the case occur, they would consult about it; nor did he give any further decision. But a variety of letters addressed both to the Court and to private individuals from all quarters, purport that for this year the Turk will make no stir, either by land or sea.]*

On the morning of the 5th, the Court at St. Cloud heard that the above-mentioned Zorzi Gritti had arrived in Paris the preceding evening. This did not surprise the King, the Legate, and the Great Master, as they knew he had come about the 10,000 crowns lent heretofore in Hungary by the Reverend D. Alvise Gritti† to one Captain Rincon,‡ then ambassador from King Francis to King John [Zapolsky], to whom Rincon gave that sum in his most Christian Majesty's name, it having to be repaid to the said Messer Zorzi; and years have elapsed without his

* Cipher between the brackets.

† Luigi Gritti, Bishop of Agria [Agram], natural son of the Doge, Andrea Gritti. (See Andrea Morosini, vol. i. p. 334.) The death of Luigi Gritti is alluded to in State Papers, vol. vii. p. 461.)

‡ Antonio Rincon, a Spaniard in the service of Francis I. (See State Papers, vol. xi. Index, and Andrea Morosini, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95, 127.) This is the earliest mention I have met with of Antonio Rincon, whose assassination by the Spaniards in 1541 was announced by Francis I. to Henry VIII. and other European powers. (See Père Daniel, vol. ix. pp. 519-521, ed. Paris, 1755.)

1531.

being able to obtain it, although he has constantly had an agent here for the purpose, and the money still circulates with interest (*et li danari girano tuttavìa sopra cambi*).

To me, this was already well known, but his coming and residing here has caused surprise to the French, Italians, and others at this Court, and given rise to various inventions, because few persons knew about this his credit of 10,000 crowns; and coupling his appearance here, with his recent departure from Constantinople, and journey hither *rectâ viâ*, [some persons say that it is much to the repute of his most Christian Majesty to have so great a personage (*un tal homo*) sent him by Sultan Solymán].‡ In reply to inquiries made of me about this matter, I have stated expressly the cause of his coming, which, having for object to recover a loan of 10,000 crowns, would suffice to bring a gentleman not merely from Venice but from India, so I believe that by this time the fact is universally known; and I have also announced it to the ambassadors with the Emperor and the King of England, namely, Tiepolo and Falier, who will be on the watch to explain the cause of this coming whenever the opportunity presents itself.

I also sent my secretary to Signor Zorzi to tell him of the complaint made by the Great Master, and that he should openly proclaim the cause of his coming. He mentioned how the packet had been detained, and that the ambassador at Venice, being perfectly satisfied with the explanation, gave him letters about this for the Great Master; and he also said that his coming and the fact of its being caused by the 10,000 crowns, were universally known, as also, that he was here for no other purpose, which it will be easy to make public.

Poissi, 8th May 1531.

[*Italian.*]

May 16.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1012. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

On the 12th instant, after having written his public letters of the 23rd ult., D. Zorzi Gritti having already despatched his business about the 10,000 crowns credit, after speaking with the Great Master and the King, payment was assigned him within one year at the utmost in instalments; nor until then nor now has he seen said Dom. Zorzi, nor would he have interfered in a similar matter without express commission from the Signory. Obeyed the commands contained in their Excellencies' letters, nor will he omit to tell them that this matter was known not only to the great personages of the Court, but also to some Italian merchants, and others who are there on other business; and besides hearing of it at Venice on a certain occasion in the College, it was told him at Lyons where the bill is in circulation, and here in Paris, that

* Both Zorzi and Luigi Gritti were in great favour with Solymán II., and although illegitimate, their descent from the reigning Doge of Venice gave them a certain importance, especially at the Porte; they having been born in Turkey when their father was a merchant there. In cipher between the brackets.

1531.

the agent of the bill-brokers *Michaeli et parenti* negotiated it (*la manigiava*). Captain Rincon, moreover, urged the court incessantly to keep faith (*di francar la fede*) and pay the money; but the difficulty consisted in this, that the Papal Nuncio and the Imperial and English ambassadors [De Praet and Sir Francis Bryan] considered it certain that Gritti had come for some other purpose, but were at length convinced it was on account of his credit, as is now perfectly well known to everybody.

As written in the public letters [of the 21st April?], the journey to Rome of Cardinal de Grammont was owing to the affairs of England; and moreover for the purpose of proposing fresh subsidies to the Pope (*di ragionar novi presidij al Pontefice*) for the affairs of Italy, although this Court does not expect his Holiness to have any need for them (*benchè questa Corte non aspetti de quella alcuna occasione*). Will also not omit telling them that this Cardinal de Grammont is a man of audacious character, with the reputation of being scandalous, and, as known to the ambassadors who went home from this Court, especially Giustinian, whenever the Signory's affairs are discussed, he is always heard to thwart them, and to let drop some malignant remark; with regard to which the Papal Nuncio said lately to him (Venier), "Grammont is gone to Rome, nor will he fail to sow discord as usual; but know, Ambassador, that his Holiness has always shown himself a good Italian."

Poissi, 16th May 1531.

Detained until the 17th.

P.S. D. Georgio Gritti has been to visit me, and said his business had been despatched, as above written.

[*Italian.*]

May 19.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1013. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although the other ambassador, Sir Francis Bryan, is here, and remains, a new one [Edward Foxe or Stephen Gardyner]* has come, for the purpose, it is said, of attempting the things which have been already tried and negotiated† [namely, to induce King Francis to declare himself hostile to the Emperor, which, however, he will not do; for as we told your Sublimity heretofore in the despatch written when we were three ambassadors,‡ the most Christian King will slide on (*scorrerà*), cajoling either party, knowing that both sovereigns are by nature inimical to him, and being certain that, were he to make war for the English King, it would not be for a Prince who either loves him or wishes him to gain glory;]§ but these requests will end with a demand for money on account of the debt due to him from King Francis, whom he continues to dun (*il qual li tien*

* In State Papers, vol. viii. pp. 321-323, there is a letter from Sir Francis Bryan and Edward Foxe [king's almoner, archdeacon of Leicester], dated "Senlys, the last day of September 1531;" but Foxe's first arrival in France on this mission is not mentioned in that publication. The departure of Gardyner from France is recorded by Venier, date 22 July 1531. In the State Papers I do not find any mention of Gardyner in France in the year 1531, but he may have been there from July till October in that year.

† "Di tentar le cose già tentate et praticate."

‡ The despatch has not been found.

§ Cipher within the brackets.

1531.

sollicitata), although a month has not yet elapsed since some 33,000 crowns were paid him on this score at Calais, and possibly within a few days he will receive another instalment.

Poissi, 19th May 1531.

[*Italian.*]

June 20.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1014. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By the letters of Cardinal de Grammont (*Agramonte*) from Rome, it is merely heard that, having urged the Pope to repeal the prohibition against the divorce of England, his Holiness remains firm (*persevera*), choosing the case to be juridically decided by the "Rota;" and Grammont, having canvassed the promotion to the Cardinalate of the Archbishop of Toulouse, a very virtuous and exemplary prelate, and of the blood royal, it seems that the Pope announced good intentions; and the election is expected to take place, most especially as his Holiness lately made two cardinals at the suit of the Emperor; and it is said that the Right Reverend Grammont will soon return to the [French] Court.

Poissi, 20th June 1531.

[*Italian.*]

July 2.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1015. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Grammont (*Agramonte*) has obtained from the Pope that his most Christian Majesty *ad vitam* may confer all the benefices of the kingdom, save four or five which are the chief benefices of the religious orders (*che sono capi de' ordini*), a very great and important concession, because it comprises not only the bishoprics, but priories and abbaies without end, so that in like manner as canons or other clerks (*clerici*) elected priors, provosts, and other abbots, so is his Majesty to elect them all; a fact which causes much comment to be made both by clergy and laity, most especially as it is apprehended that many abbaies which have been reformed, and are in good custody, may pass *in commendam*, and from many causes deteriorate.

It is said here that Grammont has obtained a certain prorogation in favour of the English King, but persons of intelligence know that *nihil est*, this being the time of the ordinary vacation.

Paris, 2nd July 1531.

[*Italian.*]

July 16.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1016. The SAME to the SAME.

The most noble Capello, the Signory's ambassador, on his way to England, being near Melun, sent to Venier on the 13th instant to know if in two days he could pay his respects to King Francis, and take leave of him. Venier wrote back that, unless by some new destiny (*nisi per qualche nova sorte*) the man who expected to obtain audience in ten days—still less in two—would show too much self-confidence, as his most Christian Majesty becomes daily more and more averse to negotiate in person.

Melun, 16th July 1531.

[*Italian.*]

1531.

July 22.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1017. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Dr. Stephen [Gardynier], who was here on a mission from his King,* departed lately on his way back to England. It has been said that he announced the dissatisfaction of King Henry at the offices performed at Rome by Cardinal de Grammont about the divorce case. These secretaries and messengers from England arrive very frequently, although Sir Francis Bryan, the ambassador in ordinary, remains here constantly.

Melun, 22nd July 1531.

[Italian.]

Sept. 5.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1018. The SAME to the SAME.

The Doge's courier, Gioan Villan, has arrived in Paris with letters addressed to the State from the Signory's ambassadors in England,† which will be under the present letters which Venier is sending by said Zuane, who is paid.

Paris, 5th September.

[Italian.]

Oct. 10.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1019. The SAME to the SAME.

Went to the English Ambassador [Sir Francis Bryan?], having heard that he had presented himself to the Royal Council, complaining very loudly that King Francis had wished for an interview with the Emperor utterly without the knowledge of the King of England. When speaking about this matter, the ambassador told him that the Council, in reply, declared King Francis would never hold such a conference save with the express consent of King Henry (*se prima non havesse havuto il voler expresso del Re suo prefato d' Inghilterra*). Venier rejoined, "And thus, Lord Ambassador, nothing more will be said about this business;" [to which he answered very angrily (*con molta ira*), "No, devil take it, no (*non, diavolo, non*), but had 'Madame' died before the remonstrance made by me to the Council,‡ and had the negotiation been continued, King Francis would perhaps have conferred with the Emperor, for the French are injudicious."§ But as of late the Queen and King's children have remained at Compiègne towards Picardy, Mons. de Balanson (*sic*) having also returned postwise to the King from the Emperor, a report again circulated that it was for the purpose of renewing negotiations for the interview; and everybody was inquisitive to learn the cause of his coming. At length, nothing transpired save that his mission was one of condolence with the King and

* As already mentioned there is no notice of this mission in the State Papers.

† Lodovico Falier and Carlo Capello. (*See Venetian Calendar*, 13 September 1531, No. 683, pp. 289, 290.)

‡ Louise of Savoy died at Senlys, 23rd September 1531. *See State Papers*, vol. viii. p. 323, Letter from Bryan and Foxe to Benet. In *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, p. 573, ed. Paris, 1770, her death is said to have taken place at Grez in Gattinois, on the 22nd September 1531.

§ The words bracketed in the draft were to be ciphered in the letter. "Ma se avanti che io parlasse a questo consiglio, et che venisse il caso di Madama, quella trattation andava de longo, forse che questo Re vedeva l' Imperator, perchè Francesi non hanno iudicio."

1531.

the Queens of France and Navarre [on the death of Louise of Savoy], and such was the assurance given by the ministers here (*questi signori*) in very strong language (*efficacissime parole*) to the aforesaid English ambassador. The Imperial ambassador and Mons. de Balanson (*sic*) said the same to me when I visited them; nor did Balanson follow the Court more than ten days, and then returned to Flanders.

Another ambassador (*orator*) arrived lately from England,* but is to go back shortly; and these ambassadors extraordinary (*oratori extraordinarii*) come, almost habitually, to solicit money.

Paris, 10th October 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1020. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In his last of the 10th instant, said that the King was moving from place to place in the neighbourhood of Paris, where the ambassadors were awaiting the obsequies [of Louise of Savoy]. In the meanwhile his Majesty sent postwise to England, the Reverend Bishop of Bayonne, his privy councillor and a man of great wisdom, gravity, and authority. It is considered certain that this mission has for object to apologise (*far excusatione*) to the King of England, about all that has been said touching the interview with the Emperor, most especially as the English ambassadors have clamoured immoderately (*rottamente sparlato*) about this matter, in the presence of everybody, and complained bitterly (*aspramente*) to the Cardinal Legate [Chancellor Duprat], to the Great Master, and to the King himself. No other motive is assigned for this mission of Bayonne, whose departure was followed by that of the English ambassador (*ambasciator*), who arrived at this Court lately [Edward Foxe?]; but should there be any other cause, the Signory will hear it from their ambassador in England.

Paris, 20th October 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1021. The SAME to the SAME.

The Bishop of Bayonne who was sent by his most Christian Majesty to England, has not yet returned, but King Henry sent hither, the other day, a clergyman, Dr. Taylor (*el Dottor Teller*),† to reside here as his ambassador, in lieu of Sir Francis Bryan, who, in like manner as he is a great personage, so has he been very audacious (*molto audace*) at this Court of late.

Compiegne, 3rd November 1531.

[*Italian.*]

* Query Edward Foxe, from whom, as already mentioned, there is a letter in State Papers (vol. viii. pp. 321-323), dated "Senlys, the last day of September 1531."

† Taylor, John, LL.D., Archdeacon of Bucks, Master of the Rolls, June 1527-34, died 1534. (See State Papers, vol. xi. Index, p. 642.) There is no mention in the State Papers of his embassy to France in 1531.

1531.

Nov. 8.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1022. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Bayonne has returned from England, and is understood to have brought back word that the King is in fact satisfied with his most Christian Majesty, by reason of the valid excuses and very earnest offices (*vehementissimi officij*) performed in his name by the Bishop, with regard to the affairs of the Emperor. [He also says that the English King continues making presents as usual to his most Christian Majesty,* offering him a considerable sum of ready money, that they may make war together on the Emperor, provided King Francis bind himself to fight to the last.†]

Secret messengers have arrived at the French Court from the Duke of Saxony and other Princes of Germany, who offer troops to King Francis, if he will pay them in part, and employ them together with their Princes against the Emperor; but these matters proceed without any resolve, as they neither decide in the affirmative, nor give an absolute refusal.‡

Compiegne, 8th November 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1023. The SAME to the SAME.

The King has been moving about from "Notre Dame de Liesse" (*sic*) [Senlys?] to his usual hunting places (*alle sue consuete cazze*) on these borders, inspecting certain places which were destroyed by the wars, and arranging for their repair; after which he went to Guise, a place given by him heretofore to Mons. de Guise, brother of the Duke and of the Cardinal of Lorraine; and in this his "progress" (*sua volta*) he took with him the English ambassador, Sir Francis Bryan, who, although he has had a successor appointed him, as already mentioned by me, has not yet departed. It is said King Francis did this designedly (*con industria*), that he might see and know for certain that his most Christian Majesty was not treating or negotiating anything with the Emperor. Thus there is an end of the suspicion of these English ambassadors, who are now three in number at this Court.§

St. Quentin, 29th November 1531.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1024. The SAME to the SAME.

On condoling in the Signory's name with the Queen of Navarre || on the death of "Madame," she said, "Ambassador, the Signory has in truth incurred a great loss, for Madame greatly loved and honoured the Republic, and to the last (*et hora*) desired its welfare and peace." Replied that the Doge thanked God that "Madame" had

* "Che prefato Re Anglico perseveri nelli consueti motivi di far presenti a questo Christianissimo Re."

† "Per condursi insieme con lui alla guerra contro Cesare, dumodo che prefato Christianissimo si oblii a voler veder il fine."

‡ The bracketed paragraph in the draft was ciphered in the despatch.

§ I am unable to ascertain who the third ambassador was; there is no mention of him in the State Papers.

|| Margaret, sister of Francis I.

1531

Nov. 8.
Diplomatic
France,
Monsieur,
No. 116.
Original
Letter Book
Venetian
Archive.

1023. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VARNER, Venetian Ambassador in
France to the Duke and Regent.

The Bishop of Bayonne has returned from England, and is anxious
to have brought back word that the King is in fact satisfied
with his most Christian Majesty, by reason of the well known
and very earnest offices (ambassadors) performed in his
name by the Bishop, with regard to the affairs of the Emperor.
[He also says that the English King continues making presents as
usual to his most Christian Majesty, offering him a considerable
sum of ready money, that they may make war together in the
Empire, provided King Francis bind himself to fight to the last.]

Some messages have arrived at the French Court from the
Duke of Saxony and other Princes of Germany, who offer troops
to King Francis if he will pay them in part, and employ them
together with their Princes against the Emperor; but these matters
passed without any result, as they neither decide in the affirmative, nor give an absolute refusal.]

Compteur, 25th November 1531.

[Italian.]

1023. The Duke to the King.

The King has been moving about from "Notre Dame de Lianz"
(sic) [Scalet] to his usual hunting place (the one common to
on these borders, respecting certain places which were destroyed
by the war, and arranging for their repair; after which he went
to Gize, a place given by his predecessor to Monsieur de Lianz,
brother of the Duke and of the Cardinal of Lianz; and in
this his "progress" (see note) he took with him the English
ambassador, St. Francis Bryan, who, although he has not a
successor appointed him as already mentioned by me, has not
yet departed. It is said King Francis did this deliberately (and
intentionally) that he might see and know for certain that his most
Christian Majesty was not treating or negotiating anything with
the Emperor. Thus there is an end of the suspicion of those
English ambassadors, who are now three in number at this Court.

St. Quentin, 25th November 1531.

[Italian.]

1024. The Duke to the King.

On consulting in the Signory's name with the Queen of Navarre;
on the death of "Madame," she said, "Ambassador, the Signory has
in truth incurred a great loss for Madame greatly loved and
honoured the Republic, and to the last (at Rome) desired its welfare
and peace." He replied that the Duke thanked God that "Madame" had

Dec. 23.
Diplomatic
France,
Monsieur,
No. 116.
Original
Letter Book
Venetian
Archive.

* - On 23rd Dec. the Duke's presence will be present a great
Christianity, etc.
† - The French Emperor was not able to make France, which the Pope
Christianity is about a year and a half.
‡ The French Emperor in the last was injured in the head.
§ I am unable to say whether the Duke's presence was there in the region of the
in the last report.
|| Marguerite, sister of Francis I.

1531.

left her own image in her daughter, both with regard to every virtue, wisdom and integrity, and also by reason of the affection which the Queen of Navarre bore his Excellency, whose late love, and the observance of the State towards Madame, will now be transferred to her Majesty alone. Considered this compliment necessary, as the Queen of Navarre is now in great repute at the French Court: and they apparently communicate everything to her, as they did to her late most Serene mother, after whose death, indeed, when she purposed retiring with her consort to Navarre, King Francis insisted on her remaining and following the Court; so that great honour and respect are paid her.

On the 22nd, when at mass with the King, was asked by him if he had any news from Constantinople. Replied that by his private letters from Venice dated 2nd instant, with Turkish advices down to the close of October, Sultan Solyman was well, and amusing himself with pageants and entertainments, nor was anything said about naval or military preparations. Was glad to say this, because the King and the Court have received very frivolous and offensive advices from Italy, by way of Ragusa, purporting that Sultan Solyman had become apoplectic and insane; and about the Magnifico Ibraim Bassa,* who was said to have been greatly outraged by Sultan Solyman's sons. On hearing this, the King turned to the Great Master and said, "Nothing true comes from Constantinople, save by way of Venice;" and then to me, he added, "Write to the Signory that the Emperor will go in vain to the Diet; and immediately afterwards (*et poi presto*) to Italy and Spain."

The Abate de' Negri, who was sent hither postwise by the Pope, arrived on the 20th instant, and presented himself with the Nuncio Triulzi (who had not yet departed) to the King, delivering credentials, which purported amongst other things that his Holiness wished his Majesty to induce Triulzi to remain with him as Nuncio; and at the same time he, Negri, gave the brief to Triulzi ordering him to remain, and that D. Sixto Zuchello, the new Nuncio lately arrived, was to go back. The King urged Triulzi accordingly, and being thus persuaded, and in virtue of the Pope's mandate, he obeyed. This extraordinary proceeding has caused great surprise, and Zuchello will return, having hitherto done nothing either good or bad at this Court, having merely presented his ambassadorial letters. Besides his other commissions Negri suggested to King Francis that he should restrain (*intervenir*) the King of England, who it seems, with this Queen (*con questa Regina*) [Eleanor of Austria?] is soliciting the despatch at Rome of the divorce case; so his Holiness gives it to be understood that sentence will be passed against the English King.†

[This novelty on the part of the Pope, who despatches a messenger postwise to make one ambassador remain and to recall another, without any known reason, creates suspicion and causes it to be said

* Ibrahim Pasha was a Venetian subject, having been originally a boatman at Parga, where he was seized by corsairs and sold as a slave. It was to him that the Doge's illegitimate son Luigi Grillo owed the influence enjoyed by him at the Porte. (See Alberi *Relazioni Venete*, series 3, vol. iii, pp. 95, 96, 97, 103, 104.)

† "Perhò che Sua Santità fa intendere il Re che non dover venir contra esso Serenissimo Re

1531.

that possibly the Pope is dissatisfied with the affairs of Modena* since the Emperor's departure from Italy, and wishing to concede some gratification to the King of England (*intervenendo qualche compiacenza del Re d'Inghilterra*), will devise something new for Italy with King Francis; which others deny, saying, on the contrary, that before the Emperor quitted Italy, he confirmed the friendship with its Princes by a league between the Pope, him the Emperor, your Serenity, and the Duke of Milan, for the defence of common states against whomsoever (*contra ciascaduno*).†

Abbeville, 28th December 1531.

[*Italian.*]

1532.

Jan. 15.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1025. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Reverend Bishop of Winchester *alias* Dr. Stephen,‡ arrived lately at this Court, on a mission from the most Serene King of England, and having become a great personage (*et per esser fatto gran personaggio*), he is supposed to have been sent in acknowledgment of the embassy performed by the Bishop of Bayonne on behalf of his most Christian Majesty. He is not understood to have come for any other cause, save that of urging King Francis to write to Rome and exert himself (*et se dimostri gagliarda*) about the divorce case. Dr. Benet (*dottor Benedetto*), the English King's envoy (*nuncio*), is also here on his way to Rome postwise, and the Bishop of Winchester will return to England.

Dieppe, 15th January 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1026. The SAME to the SAME.

The Bishop of Winchester is still here, and although they say it is for the purpose of confirming and strengthening the alliance between King Francis and the most Serene English King, yet no such result is visible; and here, at the Court, the Bishop says openly that his King chooses that woman, but that he continues anxious about the affair of the divorce.§

There arrived here lately an envoy from King John [Zapolsky], by name Corsino, who subsequently crossed over to England.¶

Rouen, 26th January 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Anglico." In Sanuto's summary of this letter, as translated in vol. iv. Venetian Calendar, p. 311, the words are "*Sua Maestà dubita il iudicio non vengi contra il Re.*" The ciphered part of the despatch not having been read in the Senate, could not be transcribed in the Diaries.

* On the 1st of April 1531, at Ghent, the Emperor published a decree authorising Don Alfonso of Este to retain possession of Modena on payment of a certain census for Ferrara. (See Frizzi, History of Ferrara, vol. iv. pp. 294, 295.)

† Cipher between the brackets.

‡ The collation of Gardiner to the see of Winchester is recorded by Marin Sanuto, date August 17, 1531. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. p. 284.)

§ "Et esso Reverendo de Vincestre dice apertamente in questa Corte, ch'è il Re suo vol quella donna ma che perseveri anxio drieto a quella materia di divorzio."

¶ In State Papers (vol. vii. p. 599) mention is made of Andrea Corsini as having been Envoy in England from King John in the year 1534, but I find no allusion to his having been accredited to Henry VIII. in 1532.

1532.

May 3.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1027. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An ambassador from the most Serene King of England arrived lately to reside with his most Christian Majesty, in lieu of the one who came last November [Dr. Tayler], who is removed, solely because he is very old, and unable to follow the Court.*

Constanza (*sic*), [Coutalces?], 3rd May 1532.

[*Italian.*]

May 20.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1028. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 15th Mons. de Pomeraye, French ambassador in England, arrived here postwise, having been sent back with a letter of credence from King Henry. The English ambassador resident here immediately accompanied him to the Court, where both one and the other yet remain. Has been unable to ascertain the cause of this mission, because the Court is at a distance of 40 Italian miles from Rennes, and if not impossible, it is at least more than difficult to negotiate or investigate anything about it, and although he sometimes goes a little in advance; or sends as far as the Court, yet as no one can remain there even for hours it is hard to get at the truth. It is reported that this mission relates to the general affairs of Christendom, the most Christian King having apparently said that in case he goes against the Turks under the circumstances mentioned in the foregoing letters, the most Serene English King likewise would keep him company (*la faria compagnia*) with regard to (*cioè di*) favour and troops; and it also concerns the affair of the divorce, as also the writing of hortatory letters to the Pope.

Rennes, 20th May 1532.

[*Italian.*]

June 10.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1029. The SAME to the SAME.

Mons. de Pomeraye has returned to England with money due from his most Christian Majesty to the most Serene King of England, to the amount of 100,000 crowns, on account of the usual pension, (*per causa et a bon conto della pension consueta*).

Reners (*sic*) [Rennes?], 10th June 1532.

[*Italian.*]

July 28.

Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1030. The SAME to the SAME.

The English ambassador like the rest having received notice to come to this city, requested permission (*richiese di voler*) to follow his most Christian Majesty into Lower Brittany, which was granted; nor is it to be wondered at, for since my residence at this Court, I have always found the English ambassadors more audacious (*più audaci*) and more respected than any of the others.

What his Majesty had determined to do after much diversity of opinion, underwent a change at the commencement of the journey, by reason of bad lodgings and suspicion of plague, so that he has exceeded the distance of 30 leagues beyond this city, surveying the

* In vol. viii. State Papers, the first mention of Sir John Wallop's embassy to France is dated 31st January 1533, but he probably succeeded Dr. Tayler in May 1532.

1532.

country from places better suited to his diversions, without however curtailing the journey, as precisely at the expiration of one month, namely, on the 4th of August, he purposes being in this town, there to hold the States of the Duchy on the 8th. Believes also that the recent death of the Viscount of Turenne, a member of the Privy Council, in very great repute with all nations, as the most prudent and upright councillor in his Majesty's service, dissuaded further advance. Mons. de Lautrec, a lad eleven years old, (son of the one who died at Naples,) is also dead; the only one [of the family] now remaining is a child ten years old, being Mons. de l'Escu, who will now be called Mons. de Lautrec, and his income amounts to 30,000 crowns.

Vannes, 28th July 1532.

[Italian.]

Aug. 9.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1031. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news of this Court is that the King will *omnino* arm, though there is no appearance of this for the present year, and such is the belief of men of judgment. It is true that money is saved and accumulated, and in such wise, that since last March, the most Christian King has not spent a penny (*un soldo*) of his ordinary revenue, either on the Switzers or on England, nor in pensions, nor anything else, all that he disbursed having been derived from extraordinary sources, and he has diminished and delayed all payments. The opinion about his arming has a certain foundation, because sooner or later, in one way or the other he may be greatly moved (*alterato*) by events in Germany and Hungary, in which last province he expects the Lord Turk to winter this year. In that case he anticipates great danger for Christendom; so his Majesty said that next year he also will arm, with the belief that the Christians will call and give him suitable place and terms (*dandoli loco et partito condeccente*), it seeming to him that he is to be implored like a deity (*come un dio*). It is also said that his Majesty's arming (*lo armar di essa Maestà*), will be in virtue of an agreement and understanding with the King of England, to carry out which, King Francis, after his return to Paris, will move towards Picardy, where the final arrangement will be stipulated, and possibly their Majesties will have an interview, or the King of England will send some great personage for the purpose. The King is still expected to return to Paris in the course of September.

Vannes, 9th August 1532.

[Italian.]

Aug. 22.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1032. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 20th instant, his most Christian Majesty sent the Bishop of Langes, brother of the Bishop of Bayonne, to the King of England, Langes having lately returned from the Duke of Saxony and other Princes of Germany. It is supposed that he has important matters (*grosse facende*) to negotiate; so the rumour of the interview between the two Kings gains ground, and the report of his most Christian Majesty's arming next year by sea and land, increases daily. His intention of going speedily to Paris continues in like

1532.

manner, though what road he may take subsequently is uncertain ; for, as already mentioned by me, Picardy is talked of by reason of the affairs of England, whilst others say Provence, and others Burgundy ; the Admiral, who is Governor of that Duchy, having gone thither lately, and on his departure he said openly that he expected the King there before Christmas.

Nantes, 22nd August 1532.

[Italian.]

Aug. 30.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1033. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 26th the Imperial ambassador received letters from Ratisbon, dated the 22nd instant, announcing that on the 6th, the Turkish army, commanded by Sultan Solyman in person, was within six leagues of Vienna. When his Lordship made this announcement the King answered him, "I believe Vienna will defend itself, and that the Turks will make their winter quarters in various places ;" and then after making a long discourse about Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and other provinces, he said in conclusion, "Should this come to pass I will not fail to aid Christendom (*non mancherò a Christiani*), and with the assistance of the King of England, and of the King of Scotland, who are my friends, I hope to be present at the defence with a hundred thousand fighting men." [The negotiations between his most Christian Majesty and the English King are thus rendered clear, and it is asserted that they will have an interview, or at least that on the most Christian King's return towards Picardy (*che tornato il Re Christiano verso Picardia*), the Great Master will cross over to England, which for many reasons is credited by judicious observers ; and the French ministers (*questi signori Francesi*) begin to be apprehensive about what may take place between the Emperor and the Lord Turk, it seeming to them a very perilous affair (*cosa di gran pericolo*)].* His Majesty will depart to-day towards the Duchy of Anjou, and in two days will be out of Brittany.

Nantes, 30th August 1532.

[Italian.]

Sept. 6.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1034. The SAME to the SAME.

Since his departure from Nantes on the 30th ult., the King has been taking his pleasure in various ways as usual ; and in the meanwhile, on the 4th, the Queen made her solemn entry into this city, which is the capital of the Duchy of Anjou. His Majesty arrived here on the evening of the 4th, and departed yesterday for a place called "Le Vergier," where there is a most noble and highly ornamented (*ornatissimo*) palace, where he said he should remain a day or two at the utmost, and then continue his journey towards Paris, without entering Tours (although great preparations had been made for the Queen), as the plague increases there greatly. [I have heard, for certain, that his most Christian Majesty and the English King have settled to meet, and that preparations are already being

* Cipher between the brackets.

1532. 1532.

made in Picardy by both sides, but they will not display any pomp, and purpose despatching their business in five or six days from the 20th to the 30th of October; but on his Majesty's arrival in Paris he will immediately send the Great Master to Calais, where he will find the Duke of Norfolk, sent by the King of England, that the two, together, may so far advance the negotiation that the interview, and the conclusion of the business between their Majesties, can be despatched immediately; and although discourse about this matter varies, what I write to your Serenity on the subject is assuredly true.]*

Angers, 6th September 1532.

[Italian.]

Oct. 31.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1035. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

[All the ambassadors being here [at Abbeville] on the 18th, as I wrote from Montreuil on the 17th, considering the boundary which had been assigned them, the Papal Nuncio and the Magnifico the Imperial Ambassador *presertim*, came to the conclusion that, by this act, both his most Christian Majesty and the King of England had comported themselves either inconsiderately, or for the purpose of inflicting a great insult on the Princes of all the ambassadors. And

Ritrovandosi tutti li Oratori qui alli 18, scrissi da Montrol che alli 17 il Nontio Pontificio et orator Cesareo concluseno questo atto di farne star qui apartati, e sia (con pocha consideration, et per far grande iniuria a li principi de chi semo oratori, li quali è sta fati venir a Montarol e Bologna), e spender, confinandone poi ca cadaun altro è sta licito andar a veder i congressi.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(*Original Diaries, vol. 57, p. 105.*)

Ritrovandosi alli 18 del presente tutti gl' ambassatori a questa città (come scrissi alla Sublimità V^{ra} da Monteruol per l'ultime mie de 17 che dovevano esser) considerato il confin dato a loro presertim il Rev^{do} Nuncio Pontificio et Magco. Orator Cesareo concluseno che in questo atto ambe queste M^{ia} Christ^{na}. et Anglica se erano mosse o con poca consideratione o per far grande iniuria alli principi de tutti gli Amb^{ri} et questo dicono non già per haverli fatti andar fino a Monteruol et Bologna et spender et disponer le cose loro come è solito farsi in similibus confinandoli contra l'honor suo, et proibendo a loro quello che è stato licito a cadauna sorte di gente, non solum di veder il congresso, ma andar fino nelle camere dove erano le proprie persone regie, ma si dogliono, et dicono, che questo atto è demonstrativo de alcuna trattatione contra li principi di prefati Amb^{ri} in tempo che tra tutti essi sta la pace. Poi appar esser fatto immediate contra le promesse de essi Re li quali dicevano volersi veder per proveder alle cose de Christiani in eventumchel bisognasse. Io dico in questa parte quello che odo da questi Sig^{ri}. Amb^{ri}. ma la S^{er}ta. V^{ra}. quanto alla portion sua iudicará lei con la solita propria sapienza.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(*Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives, p. 20 tergo.*)

* In cipher between the brackets.

1532.

this they say, not indeed because they were made to go as far as Montreuil and Boulogne, and to incur expense, and make their arrangements as usual *in similibus*, and then to be confined contrary to their honour, and forbidden what has been lawful for every sort of person [viz.], not only to see the congress, but to go even to the chambers where the royalties themselves were; but what they complain of and say is, that this act is demonstrative of some treaty (*trattatione*) against the said ambassadors' Princes at a time when they are all at peace together; and then, again, this seems to have been done in direct opposition to the promises of the two Kings, who said they wished for the interview in order to provide for the affairs of Christendom in case of need. With regard to this matter, I mention what I hear from these ambassadors, and with your usual wisdom your Serenity will judge how far you are concerned in it.]*

(Continuation as in Vol. IV. Venetian Calendar, p. 361, "On the 11th instant," to p. 363, line 17, "which will be difficult.")

In addition to this, whether it be true, or that the French ministers (*questi signori*) avail themselves of the report, it is said that the most Serene English King having made the above-written Marchioness [Anne Boleyn] cross the Channel with him, with the firm determination (*certa opinione*) of marrying her, with the intervention (*con intervento*) of King Francis, his most Christian Majesty seems to have modified this determination (*tal opinione*) at the conference, so that it was not carried into effect; and, to say the truth, the French and English believed it to be certain, and the said English are very well pleased that the marriage did not take place.†

The magnifico Sir [Gregory] Casali‡ arrived here lately postwise, from Rome, where he was negotiating. (Continuation as in Vol. IV. Venetian Calendar, to p. 364, line 5.)

[It is said that these two Kings have agreed that, should the Cardinals [Tournon and Grammont] not succeed in persuading the

Si dice questi Re hanno convenuto che li Cardinali insista che 'l Papa non conseguisca il vincolo con Cesare; et facendo nova intelligentia non voler più che la expeditione di Franza et Anglia vadino a Roma, ma divider il suo clero dalla Sede Romana.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(Original Diaries, vol. 57, p. 105.)

Non tacerò dirsi che questi Re hanno convenuto ch'è si li Rev^{mi}. Card^{li}. non conseguiscono con il Pont^{re}. li desiderij de loro M^{ta}. cioè di rimover quello da così stretto vincolo con Cesare, ò s' el facesse qualche novo accordo in Italia, in quelli casi non voler più che le expedition di Franza et Anglia vadino a Roma, ma divider il suo Clero in tutto dalla sede sua. Item sono comune voce (*sic*) che il convento di questi doi grandi Re, non sia stato se non spese soverchie, feste et pompe, et non alcuno effetto eguale alla aspettatione.

Abbeville, 31 October 1532.

(Original Letter Book, Venetian Archives, p. 20 tergo.)

* In cipher between the brackets.

† "Et sono essi English rimasti molto contenti che'l non sia seguito." These 12 words are omitted in Sanuto's Original Diaries, vol. lvii. p. 105, verso, line 10; where the paragraph ends with the words, "e cussì Francesi et English lo crede," as translated in vol. iv. Venetian Calendar, p. 363, line 23.

‡ In the Diaries, li Rev^{mo} "Casali." (See Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. p. 363.)

1532.

Pope to comply with their Majesties' wishes, namely, to detach him from so close an alliance with the Emperor, or should he make any new agreement in Italy, in either case, they will no longer allow the collation of the benefices of France and England to be referred to Rome, but separate their clergy entirely from the Roman see. It is also generally reported that the interview between these two great Kings merely caused immoderate expense, entertainments, and pageants, and no effect whatever equal to the expectation.]*

Abbeville, 31st October 1532.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5.
Despatches,
France,
Miscellany,
No. 416.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1036. GIOVANNI ANTONIO VENIER and MARIN GIUSTINIAN.
Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, many prelates of the kingdom, with the Cardinal Legate Chancellor and the Cardinal of Lorraine, assembled; and it is said that in this congregation they spontaneously offered two-tenths to his most Christian Majesty, much to the surprise of everybody that this should be done at the present moment, when two Cardinals are on their way to his Holiness on the King's business.

The Duke of Richmond,† son of the most Serene King of England, who offered him for his Majesty's service, has come, and resides at the court, living at very great expense, and very honourably (*et molto honoratamente*).

Paris, 5th December 1532.

[*Italian.*]

1551.

1037. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Oct. 17.
Parti Comuni,
Consiglio X.,
v. xx. p. 55.

That at the request of the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, license be given to the Cavalier Spinola, a Genoese, to carry arms in Venice for one year, together with two servants who are in his pay, and at his cost, he notifying their names at the office of the night watch. §

Ayes, 12. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* Cipher between the brackets.

† Cardinals Tournon and Grammont. (*See Venetian Calendar, vol. iv. Nov. 22, 1532, No. 830.*)

‡ Henry Fitzroy, natural son of Henry VIII.

§ By an entry in Foreign Calendar, date 12th September 1551 (p. 171), it appears that "Captain Spinola" brought letters of favour from England, addressed to the ambassador Peter Vannes. The historian Hume (vol. iii. p. 324) calls this soldier Battista Spinola.

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- 11, margin, *for* St. Mark's College, *read* St. Mark's Library.
107, No. 267, *insert date*, Ratisbon, 3rd July 1541.
110, line 21, *for* 276, *read* 277.
113, line 9, *for* Attieri, *read* Altieri.
173, line 14, *after* few, *insert* days.
239, *note*, *for* Domenico Bollani, *read* Daniel Barbaro.
272, line 16, *for* Nestor, *read* Astorre.
292, No. 616 } *for* Francisco de Mendoza, *read* Juan Alvarez de Toledo.
296, No. 621 }
340, line 4, *for* placets, *read* pleas, *or* placita.
370, line 19, *for* Rochester, *read* Worcester.
378, No. 757, *for* The Same to the Same, *read* The Doge and Colle to the Venetian Ambassador in England.
409, *note*, *for* eti, *read* etc.
448, No. 837, *dele* Renard; [*qu.* Renaud?]
-

IN VOLUME IV.

- Preface, p. xxvii, line 20, *for* when Dandolo was there, *read* when Dandolo was sent to him.
„ p. xxx, line 22, *for* 3rd and 4th, *read* 3rd and 42nd.
Page 450, line 4, *for* Andrea Dandolo, *read* Leonardo Dandolo. (The same error should also be corrected in the Index.)
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IN VOLUME I.

- Preface, p. lviii, *note*, *for* brothers, *read* cousins (?)
„ p. lxxiii, *for* elder brothers, *read* cousins german (?)
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and Mr. A. Thom, Dublin.

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On 7 December 1850, the Record Commissioners, Sir James Mackintosh and Sir John Lubbock, presented to the House of Commons a report on the state of the Public Record Office, and on the progress of the work of the Record Commissioners. The report was published in the House of Commons, and is now in the possession of the Record Office.

Among the recommendations of the Report, it was suggested that the Record Office should be placed under the control of the House of Commons, and that the Record Commissioners should be appointed by the House of Commons. The House of Commons has since adopted these recommendations, and the Record Office is now under the control of the House of Commons.

Their Lordships assented to the necessity of having Calendars prepared and printed, and empowered the Master of the Rolls to make such arrangements as might be necessary for this purpose.

The following Works have been already published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls :-

CALENDARUM GENERALIUM : for the Reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.
Edited by CHARLES HENNESSY, Esq., Secretary of the Public Record Office. 2 Vols. 1853.

This is a work of reference for ascertaining the year, &c. of any event, and of any person.

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS, &c.

[IMPERIAL 8vo., cloth. *Price 15s. each Volume or Part.*]

As far back as the year 1800, a Committee of the House of Commons recommended that Indexes and Calendars should be made to the Public Records, and thirty-six years afterwards another Committee of the House of Commons reiterated that recommendation in more forcible words; but it was not until the incorporation of the State Paper Office with the Public Record Office that the Master of the Rolls found himself in a position to take the necessary steps for carrying out the wishes of the House of Commons.

On 7 December 1855, he stated to the Lords of the Treasury that although "the Records, State Papers, and Documents in his charge constitute the most complete and perfect series of their kind in the civilized world," and although "they are of the greatest value in a historical and constitutional point of view, yet they are comparatively useless to the public, from the want of proper Calendars and Indexes."

Acting upon the recommendations of the Committees of the House of Commons above referred to, he suggested to the Lords of the Treasury that to effect the object he had in view it would be necessary for him to employ a few persons fully qualified to perform the work which he contemplated.

Their Lordships assented to the necessity of having Calendars prepared and printed, and empowered the Master of the Rolls to take such steps as might be necessary for this purpose.

The following Works have been already published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls :—

CALENDARIUM GENEALOGICUM; for the Reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.
Edited by CHARLES ROBERTS, Esq., Secretary of the Public Record Office. 2 Vols. 1865.

This is a work of great value for elucidating the early history of our nobility and landed gentry.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI., MARY, ELIZABETH, and JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* ROBERT LEMON, Esq., F.S.A., (Vols. I. and II.), and MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN, (Vols. III.-XII.). 1856-1872.

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| Vol. I.—1547-1580. | Vol. VII.—Addenda, 1566-1579. |
| Vol. II.—1581-1590. | Vol. VIII.—1603-1610. |
| Vol. III.—1591-1594. | Vol. IX.—1611-1618. |
| Vol. IV.—1595-1597. | Vol. X.—1619-1623. |
| Vol. V.—1598-1601. | Vol. XI.—1623-1625, with Ad- |
| Vol. VI.—1601-1603, with | denda, 1603-1625. |
| Addenda, 1547-1565. | Vol. XII.—Addenda, 1580-1625. |

These Calendars render accessible to investigation a large and important mass of historical materials. The Northern Rebellion of 1566-67; the plots of the Catholic fugitives in the Low Countries; the numerous designs against Queen Elizabeth and in favour of a Catholic succession; the Gunpowder-plot; the rise and fall of Somerset; the Overbury murder; the disgrace of Sir Edward Coke; the rise of the Duke of Buckingham, &c. Numerous other subjects are illustrated by Papers, few of which have been previously known.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A. 1858-1869.

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| Vol. I.—1625-1626. | Vol. VII.—1634-1635. |
| Vol. II.—1627-1628. | Vol. VIII.—1635. |
| Vol. III.—1628-1629. | Vol. IX.—1635-1636. |
| Vol. IV.—1629-1631. | Vol. X.—1636-1637. |
| Vol. V.—1631-1633. | Vol. XI.—1637. |
| Vol. VI.—1633-1634. | Vol. XII.—1637-1638. |

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A.; and WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. 1871.

Vol. XIII.—1638-1639.

This Calendar of the Domestic State Papers of the reign of Charles I. presents notices of a large number of original documents of great value to all inquirers relative to the history of the period to which it refers. Many of them have been hitherto unknown.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. 1860-1866.

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|----------------------|---------------------|
| Vol. I.—1660-1661. | Vol. V.—1665-1666. |
| Vol. II.—1661-1662. | Vol. VI.—1666-1667. |
| Vol. III.—1663-1664. | Vol. VII.—1667. |
| Vol. IV.—1664-1665. | |

Seven volumes, of the period between 1660 and 1667, have been published.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to SCOTLAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARKHAM JOHN THORPE, Esq., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. 1858.

- Vol. I., the Scottish Series, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-1589.
 Vol. II., the Scottish Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1589-1603; an Appendix to the Scottish Series, 1543-1592; and the State

Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots during her Detention in England, 1568-1587.

These two volumes of State Papers relate to Scotland, and embrace the period between 1509 and 1603. In the second volume are notices of the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. 1860-1867.

Vol. I.—1509-1573. | Vol. II.—1574-1585.

The above have been published under the editorship of Mr. Hans Claude Hamilton; another volume is in the press.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. I.—1603-1606. 1872.

This series is in continuation of the Irish State Papers commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; but, for the reign of James I., the Papers are not confined to those in the Public Record Office of England.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. 1860-1870.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574-1660.

Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513-1616.

Vol. III.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1617-1621.

These volumes include an analysis of early Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1862-1872.

Vol. I.—1509-1514.

Vol. II. (in Two Parts)—1515-1518.

Vol. III. (in Two Parts)—1519-1523.

Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524-1526.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526-1528.

These volumes contain summaries of all State Papers and Correspondence relating to the reign of Henry VIII., in the Public Record Office, of those formerly in the State Paper Office, in the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Public Libraries; and of all letters that have appeared in print in the works of Burnet, Strype, and others. Whatever authentic original material exists in England relative to the religious, political, parliamentary, or social history of the country during the reign of Henry VIII., whether despatches of ambassadors, or proceedings of the army, navy, treasury, or ordnance, or records of Parliament, appointments of officers, grants from the Crown, &c., will be found calendared in these volumes.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1547-1553. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, and Correspondant du Comité Impérial des Travaux Historiques et des Sociétés Savantes de France. 1861.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF MARY, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. 1553-1558. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law and

Correspondant du Comité Impérial des Travaux Historiques et des Sociétés Savantes de France. 1861.

The two preceding volumes exhibit the negotiations of the English ambassadors with the courts of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, of Henry II. of France, and of Philip II. of Spain. The affairs of several of the minor continental states also find various incidental illustrations of much interest.

A valuable series of Papers descriptive of the circumstances which attended the loss of Calais merits a special notice; while the progress of the wars in the north of France, into which England was dragged by her union with Spain, is narrated at some length. The domestic affairs of England are of course passed over in these volumes, which treat only of its relations with foreign powers.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, (Vols. I.-VII.), and ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, (Vol. VIII.). 1863-1871.

Vol. I.—1558-1559.

Vol. II.—1559-1560.

Vol. III.—1560-1561.

Vol. IV.—1561-1562.

Vol. V.—1562.

Vol. VI.—1563.

Vol. VII.—1564-1565.

Vol. VIII.—1566-1568.

These volumes contain a Calendar of the Foreign Correspondence during the early portion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, deposited in the Public Record Office, &c. They illustrate not only the external but also the domestic affairs of Foreign Countries during that period.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. 1868-1871.

Vol. I.—1557-1696.

Vol. II.—1697-1702.

The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State, grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. 1867-1871.

Vol. I.—1515-1574.

Vol. II.—1575-1588.

Vol. III.—1589-1600.

Vol. IV.—1601-1603.

Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, deposited in the Lambeth Library, are unique, and of great importance. The Calendar cannot fail to be welcome to all students of Irish history. Another volume is in the press.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. 1862-1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485-1509.

Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509-1525

Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the

second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864-1873.

Vol. I.—1202-1509.

Vol. II.—1509-1519.

Vol. III.—1520-1526.

Vol. IV.—1527-1533.

Vol. V.—1534-1554.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FÆDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.—Edw. III.; 1066-1377. Vol. II., Ric. II.—Chas. II.; 1377-1654. 1869-1873.

The "Fædera," or "Rymer's Fædera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fædera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2s. 6d.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2s. 6d.

In the Press.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. III.—1586, &c.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. Vol. VI.—1603-1624.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XIV.—1639.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Hen. VIII.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. II.—1606, &c.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529, &c.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FÆDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. III.—1702-1706.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. IV.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1622, &c. Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. IX.—1569, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., &c., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. (1760-1800), and JOHN RINGWOOD ATKINS, Esq. (1801-1829).

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, excerpted from the Records preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office; to the end of the Reign of HENRY VII. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., A.B., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. VI.—1555, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo., half-bound. Price 10s. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford.* 1858.

Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard.* 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—*La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei.* II.—*Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris.* III.—*Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit.* *Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge.* 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA; scilicet, I.—*Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam.* II.—*Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ.* III.—*Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ.* *Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London.* 1858.

This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford.* 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the school-

men had been extended to the field of theology and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. *THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND ; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece ;* by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this ; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true ; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. *JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS.* *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. *HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS,* by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. *EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS) : Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum.* Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially

of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreae Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhani Liber Metricus de Henrico V. Edited by CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. Edited by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and

comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon; also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologie*."

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANG-LICANA; 449-1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECKOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born

about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. *ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. Edited by the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.*

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llanduff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. *THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861-1873.*

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the *Topographia* of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about the year 1188 and may be regarded rather

as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Kambrie et Descriptio Kambriae*.

22. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND.** Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Dépôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. **THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES.** Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861-1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. **LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE,** illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. **DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.** Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials,

when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. **ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III.** Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. **CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.**—1. THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELowe ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMÆ WALSHINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^{MO} FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIS JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1872.

In the first two volumes is a history of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., written by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans and prior of the cell of Wymundham, belonging to that abbey. It is printed from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, monk of Saint Albans, who lived in the reign of Edward I., printed from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX. (of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219-231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cottonian Manuscript, Claudius E. III., fols. 306-331: Also an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol by Edward I., 1291-1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., attributed to William Rishanger above mentioned, but on no sufficient ground: A short Chronicle of English History, from 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.:

A short Chronicle from 1297 to 1307, *Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi Regis Angliæ*, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with an addition of *Annales Regum Angliæ*, probably by the same hand: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1299, 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1295 to 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: and a fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1285 to 1307, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: *Annals of Edward II.*, 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe a monk of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A continuation of Trokelowe's *Annals*, 1323, 1324, by Henricus de Blanford, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A full Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer of St. Albans, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, and of the fortunes and vicissitudes of the house, from 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of the Abbey in the reign of Richard II.; from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum; with a Continuation, from the closing pages of the Parker MS. No. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth and ninth volumes, in continuation of the *Annals*, contain a Chronicle, probably written by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The tenth volume relates especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbot Whethamstede, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events occurring during the first ten years of his second abbacy. The Register was in all probability compiled between 1465 and 1476.

29. *CHRONICON ABBATIE EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMIE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.* Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. *RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ.* Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1866.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355-1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britannia*, in 1747.

31. *YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.* Years 20-21, 30-31, and 32-33. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1866.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "*lex non scripta*" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great

legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449-1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conférences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham.* 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.* 1863-1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.* 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge.* 1864-1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. **ANNALES MONASTICI.** Vol. I.:—*Annales de Margan, 1066-1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263; Annales de Burton, 1004-1263.* Vol. II.:—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291.* Vol. III.:—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundescia, 1042-1432.* Vol. IV.:—*Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016-1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377.* Vol. V.:—*Index and Glossary.* Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registry of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. **MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS.** From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. Edited by the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and, being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. **CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.** Vol. I.:—*ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI.* Vol. II.:—*EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199.* Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. **RECUEIL DES CRONIKES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE,** par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I.,

Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. *Edited by WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A.* 1864-1868.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAVERIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A.* 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.* Vols. III. and IV. *Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge.* 1865-1872.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge.* 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA, AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum.* 1866-1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. **MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR.** Vols. I, II, and III. 1067-1253. *Edited by Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum.* 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. **LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023.** *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by Edward Edwards, Esq.* 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. **CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; with a SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150.** *Edited, with a Translation, by William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A.* 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. **THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A.* 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. **THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR, THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.** *Edited, with a Translation, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin.* 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in

the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. *GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192*; known under the name of *BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH*. Vols. I. and II. Edited by *WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.*, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. *MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts)*. Edited by the *Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A.*, Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. *CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE*. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. Edited by *WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.*, Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868-1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (see No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. *WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE*. Edited, from *William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS.*, by *N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq.*, of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "*Gesta Pontificum*" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. *HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320*. Edited by *JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq.*, F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

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The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on an island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

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This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynn ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

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These curious volumes, which are of a very miscellaneous character, were, in all probability, compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton, and commenced before he had attained to the dignity of the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name. Besides these, there are letters sent to himself while he was the Royal Secretary, as well as others addressed to the King. This work will elucidate some obscure points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. **MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Registry of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872.**

This volume contains the first portion of the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of all the ancient English Chronicles. It is now published for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally commence at the Norman Conquest.

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This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a desideratum by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

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